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THE ROMANTIC TALE OF A CITY THROUGH FOUR CENTURIES

PICTORIAL HISTORY *of* PENSACOLA CITY OF FIVE FLAGS

1528 - DE NARVAEZ



NATIVE INDIAN CHIEF
AND HIS COURT.



SPANISH COAT OF ARMS



FIRST ATTEMPT TO
COLONIZE FLORIDA
6 YEARS PRIOR TO
ST. AUGUSTINE.

1559 - TRISTAN DE LUNA



FRENCH FLEUR-DE-LIS

1669 - FORT SAN CARLOS
BUILT BY SPANIARDS

1719 - CAPTURED BY FRENCH

PENSACOLA BAY IN THE
BRITISH PERIOD AFTER
SPAIN CEDED FLORIDA IN 1763.

1781 - SPANISH BLOW UP
FT. GEORGE, ENDING

BRITISH RULE.

ANNAPOLIS OF THE AIR



1861 - FORT PICKENS

REINFORCED, REMAINING
IN FEDERAL POSSESSION.

1861 - FLORIDA
SECEDES FROM
UNION, JAN. 10.
CONFEDERATE
FLAG FLIES
OVER PENSACOLA
- 1861-62.



1821 - ANDREW JACKSON
REPRESENTING U.S.A.,
TAKES OVER ALL
FLORIDA FROM SPAIN.



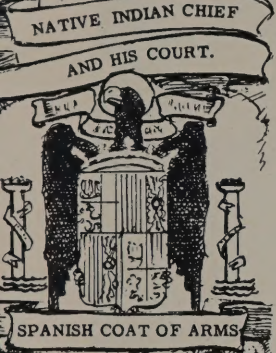
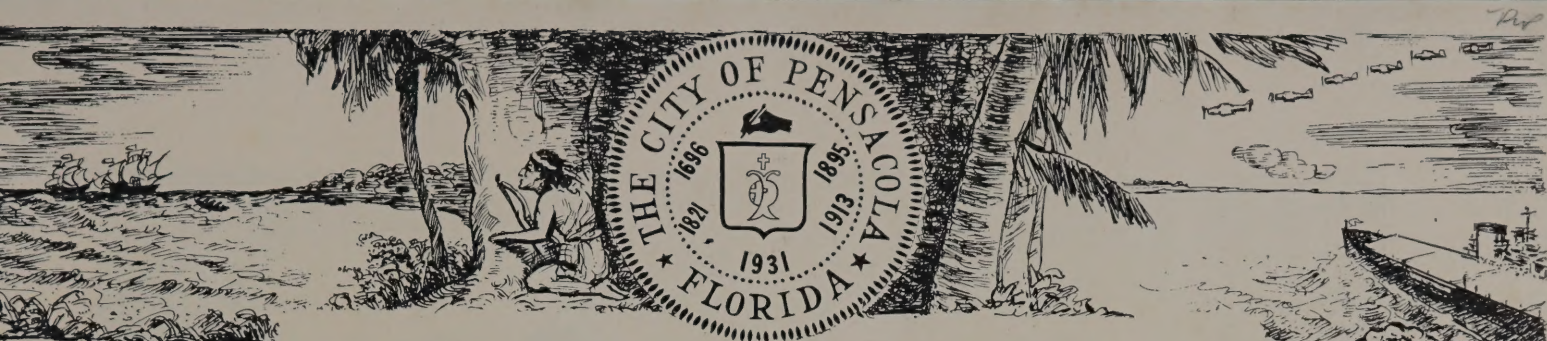
THE LION AND THE UNICORN

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BY
JOHN W. COLE
AND
FIESTA OF THE FIVE FLAGS ASSOCIATION
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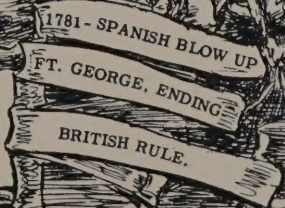
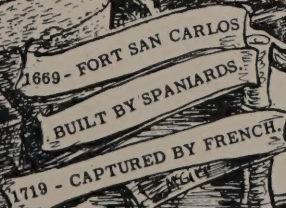
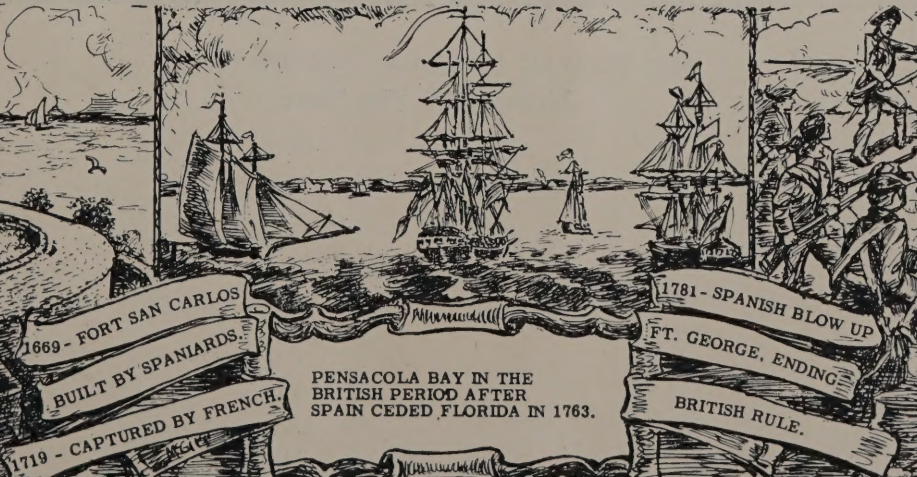
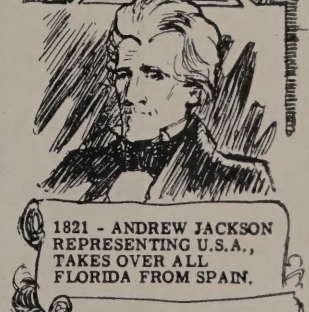
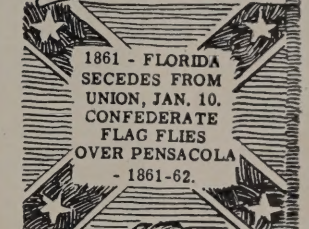
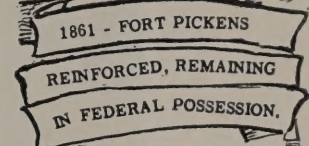


PICTORIAL HISTORY
of PENSACOLA

*City of
Five Flags*

BY
JOHN W. COLE
With the Collaboration of
JUSTIN R. WEDDELL

Published By
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DON TRISTAN DE LUNA AND HIS COURT
Fiesta of The Five Flags

foreword

WHEN it was announced a few weeks ago that a history of Pensacola would be prepared and published, much enthusiasm was aroused, because there is not now available to the public any account of the city's romantic and picturesque past. There was definitely a need for a comprehensive account of that past.

But it became immediately obvious that neither time nor space would allow either the research, writing or printing of a comprehensive account.

It was therefore decided to narrate fully herein the most interesting phase of the Pensacola story — those events occurring from the time the first Spanish explorers were known to have visited this area, until the close of the War Between the States. The period since that war has been covered only sketchily, its principal events being touched only sufficiently to bring the report down to date.

It is hoped that, at a future time, a re-edition of this work may be possible, so that all of Pensacola's troubled struggle to flourish and grow may be fully reported. It is a fascinating story which awaits only the telling — and the tedious study that the teller ought first to do.

This work is derived primarily from existing histories of Pensacola, which are as complete as

possible, unless new original sources are uncovered in the archives of Seville or Madrid or Havana, for that period up to the War Between the States. We have made herein an intense effort to reconcile the inconsistencies in existing accounts, and to include all interesting anecdotes that were of significance in the city's development.

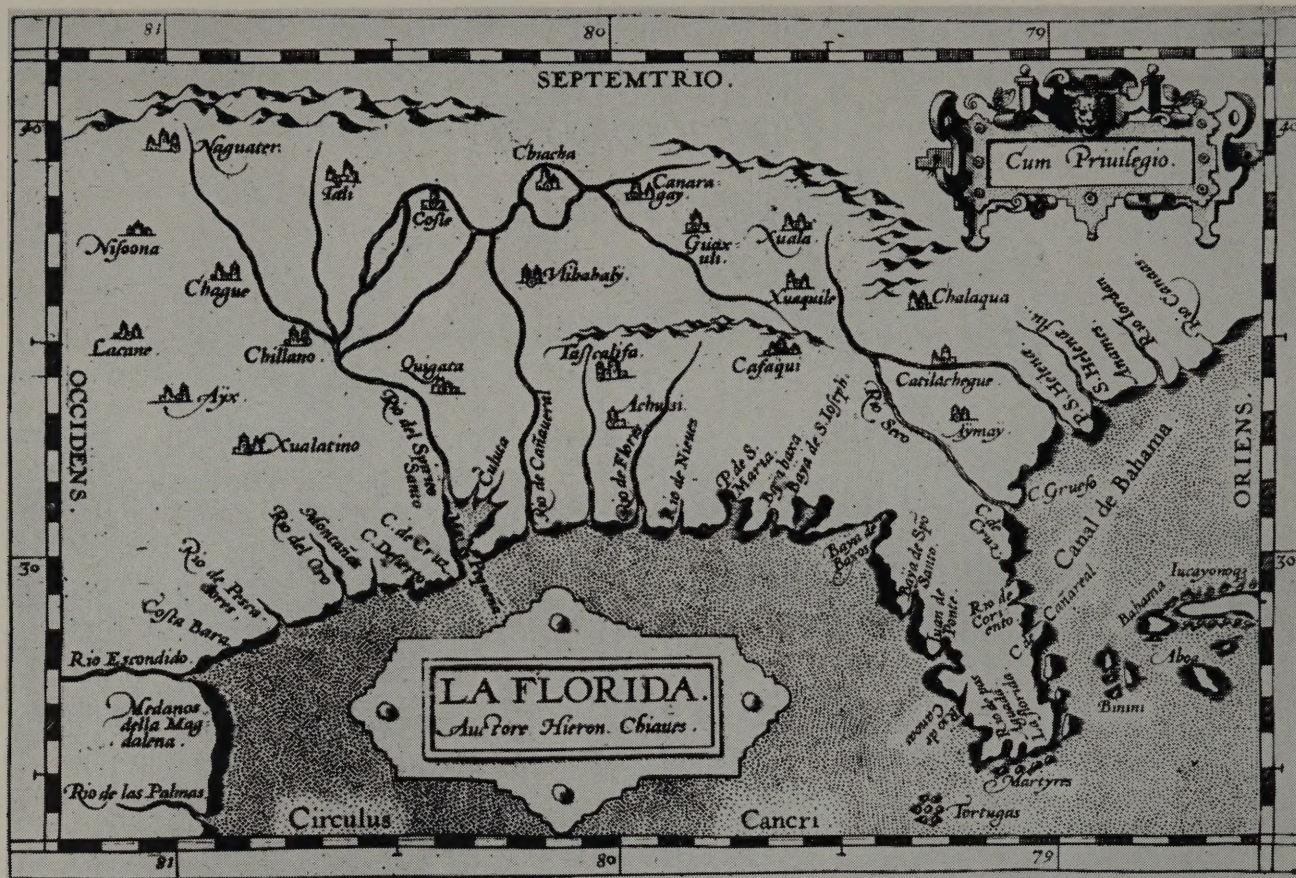
Aside from satisfying natural human curiosity about the origin and development of things, history is valuable for the lessons which the past provides for the future. We have not sought to conceal the lesson which Pensacola's past seems to us to provide for any person or group seeking to shape its future.

In modern America, where the phenomenon of tourism has developed as in no other country, historic background has become a commodity, a stock in trade. It seems certain that Pensacola, with more history than any other United States city, will develop and exploit that commodity. If so, it is to be hoped that accuracy will never be sacrificed for appeal. This would be inexcusable on any claim, for the story of Pensacola needs no artificial glamorizing.

We present this work with the hope that it partly fills the need we know exists — and the hope that it may lead to eventual whole fulfillment of that need.

JOHN W. COLE

May 22, 1952



Four Centuries Have Passed

Period of Exploration, Colonization, Conflict
1513 — 1821

THE BAY WAS FIRST. It was the harbor that caused Pensacola in 1559, just as it was the harbor that revived it in 1696 and kept the city and its hopes alive through the nearly four centuries that have ensued. In the beginning, the harbor was recognized for its essential value; an easily defensible haven for ships and a military outpost. Later, when population incident to these uses had been supplemented by commercial interests, men were to dream of a great seaport, because here was the deepest, largest, natural harbor on the Gulf Coast.

Who, among the Spanish explorers who followed Christopher Columbus to the New World, saw Pensacola Bay first is a matter of conjecture and opinion. It is not mere jest to say that those bold seafarers did not know where they were going when they started a voyage; after completing it they usually did not know where they had been, for maps were then being made for the first time, and bays and rivers named, usually by different names. Geographical knowledge was not, at any rate, the object of the explorations, nor did written logs of most of the voyages endure to history. Even

Juan Ponce de Leon, who is generally credited with being the discoverer of Florida, began his voyage of 1512 after first "having received news that lands had been found at the north," according to Herrera, a credible Spanish historian of the day. Who found those lands is not stated, but the implication is plain that he was not the actual discoverer.

It is almost certain that Panfilo de Narvaez and the remnants of his expedition, thwarted by the Indians in an effort to plant a colony on the lower Florida west coast, saw Pensacola Bay on their flight to Mexico in 1528 or 1529. And it is a matter of historical record that Diego Maldonado, commander of a fleet which had landed Hernando de Soto in southern Florida, entered the harbor and gave it the name of Puerta d'Anchusi, in January, 1540. Maldonado had been sent out by DeSoto to find a port which would serve as a base of supply for the latter's inland exploration, and the explorer determined to use the harbor after hearing a favorable report. Maldonado told DeSoto that Puerta d'Anchusi was a magnificent harbor, sheltered from winds and capable of re-

ceiving many ships. He reported that depth was sufficient even up to the shores that he could bring his ship alongside the land and disembark. He brought two natives of the port and province, one of them the *cacique*, or chief. The Indians at Puerta d'Anehusi had been very friendly, and did not hinder Maldonado's men from sounding the harbor and laying in supplies for the return voyage. According to Garcilaso de la Vega, principal historian of DeSoto's expedition, the Spaniards were very happy at Maldonado's news, for such a port represented what they had sought as an anchorage for ships to bring people, horses, cattle, seed and other supplies necessary for colonization.

Maldonado was directed to proceed to Havana for supplies and return to Puerta d'Anehusi to rendezvous with DeSoto. But rumors of gold and other riches inland led DeSoto always away, and the reunion never occurred. Maldonado awaited his return to the coast until there was no longer hope, then left Puerta d'Anehusi to cruise along the Gulf and even up the Atlantic Seaboard in search of news of his chieftain, who had died on the Mississippi River he discovered, and was buried there on May 21, 1542. This Maldonado learned upon reaching Vera Cruz three years after leaving Puerta d'Anehusi.

A Refuge Was Needed

By this time there had grown up considerable sea traffic between Hispaniola and Mexico, which Cortez had begun to conquer in 1518 and from which rich cargoes of gold and jewels were being brought back to Spain. About the middle of the century a fleet carrying gold and silver plate and other riches from Vera Cruz to Havana was blown ashore on the northern Gulf coast, and of 1,000 persons on board, only about 300 reached land. Of these, only one escaped the Indians and returned to Mexico to report the story, long afterward. Furthermore, corsairs had begun to beset the ships, and adverse winds often made it necessary for ships to deploy by the northern Gulf coast in order to make a landfall in Cuba. For these reasons it was desirable to establish a colony to supply and give haven to ships on the northern Gulf coast, and plans to that end began to form.

Preparatory to a full colonization expedition, one Guido de la Bazaes sailed with a bark, galley and shallop from Vera Cruz on September 3, 1558, to explore a site. What he found was unquestionably Pensacola Bay, and it is likely that he explored it fully for he did not leave until December 3. It was, he said, "the largest and most commodious bay on the coast," with four or five fathoms of water at low tide in the inner harbor. He reported the climate healthful and fish and oysters abundant. He described extensive forests of pine and live oak, and on the mainland, hills of reddish clay.

De la Bazaes named the bay Filipina, and, afterward, Velasco, but although these names appeared on some charts, they did not remain long. It is probable that his report fully decided the Spanish Council of the Indies on making their mainland settlement at Pensacola, for its advantages, in addition to a deep sheltered harbor with an adequate entrance, included the live oak from which ship timbers could be hewn, and elevations on the shore which would give artillery of that day more range. This was especially important at the entrance of the bay where shore-placed batteries would be important in repulsing attacks of national belligerents or marauding corsairs.

King Philip II of Spain and the Council both having ordered the colonization, Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain, who had been commissioned to execute it, acted with dispatch. He outfitted a fleet of 13 vessels and provisioned them with everything necessary and available for colonization. A force of 1,500 soldiers was recruited in Mexico and these included as many as possible who had served in Florida or "who had been cast away in tempests along its coasts and had been sustained by the Indians; specifically, a number who had been kept by the Indians in the province of Coza." (Probably what was later known as the Coosa, in Alabama).

Some of these soldiers told exaggerated tales of the wealth and marvels of the country, and these reports, coupled with stories that had been disseminated by some of the survivors of the Narvaez and DeSoto expeditions, created much enthusiasm for the venture, an unfortunate state because it made more bitter the disappointments that were to come later.

Velasco named Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano as captain general of the fleet and of Florida. De Luna was the son of Marshal Don Carlos de Luna, governor of Yucatan, and a lord of Borobia and Siria in Aragon. Juan Ceron was appointed campmaster.

Philip II at the time was the most powerful monarch of Europe, with the largest domain, probably because he was also the most faithful ally of the tremendous power of Rome, and a coequal objective of the expedition was to win the Indians of Florida to the Church. Accordingly a delegation of religious leaders came along also, headed by Father Pedro de Feria (later to become a Bishop) as provincial vicar of Florida. Others included Father Domingo de la Anunciacion, who at that time was called Don Juan de Paz; Father Domingo de Salazar; Father Juan Mazuelos, Father Domingo de Santa Domingo and Father Bartolome Matheos. All of these were of the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans.

Velasco also appointed six captains of horse and six of infantry. Of these, half already had

been in the Coza province and upon escaping had been accompanied back to New Spain by some of the Indians. These Indians, with others, also joined the expedition.

Misfortune Is A Birthmark

In July they set sail, and after a voyage of about a month dropped anchor on August 14 in Santa Maria, or Pensacola, Bay. Don Tristan immediately dispatched a report to the Viceroy on the safe passage and upon the apparent excellence of the land. He sent out parties of soldiers to explore along the shore and the river, presumably the Escambia River. He detailed two dispatch boats with Father Matheos to carry word to Spain that the colony had landed.

De Luna's landing was too leisurely. On August 20 a hurricane hit his fleet and wrecked his ships, including the one about to hoist sail with Father Matheos, who, with all on board with him drowned. Supplies had not been unloaded, and DeLuna and the surviving colonists found themselves ashore in a strange land with only a handful of goods aboard one small caravel that was borne inland by the high water and left stranded, nearly intact.

But Don Tristan showed no dismay. He assured the expedition that the Viceroy would send swift relief, neglecting to tell them the latter had no way of knowing their plight since the news of their landing had been sent prior to the storm and there now was no way of communicating with Vera Cruz.

No written record exists to give any hint as to where De Luna planted his colony. Historians estimate that after the storm there must have been a thousand people, all told, so he must have settled on the mainland where fresh water was available from springs and streams. Furthermore, the one undestroyed ship was found "more than a cannon shot from the edge of the sea" after the storm, so the fleet must have been inside the bay. Some historians by conjecture attempt to fix a site, but no definite clue has yet come to light. No ruins of his settlement were ever reported found but this is not surprising; such shelter as his people erected could only have been of temporary nature, from materials found ashore.

The land parties De Luna had sent out had returned and reported the immediate territory

barren and unpopulated. And so the general assigned four companies of men under a sergeant major to make deeper penetration of the interior. In what direction they went or how far we can not definitely know, but for 40 days they marched until their way was impeded by a large river. Continuing along its bank, they soon came upon an Indian village which at first appeared abandoned and was badly damaged, but well stocked with corn, beans and other food. In nearby fields the Spaniards discovered some Indians, who were won over by gifts and who declared that men similar to the Spaniards had attacked their village and that most of the inhabitants had fled. Who these marauders could have been is not known; some historians presume the Indians referred to DeSoto's expedition, but it had been about 20 years since DeSoto must have passed that way, and it may well have been some privateering and therefore unchronicled brigands of gold-greedy Europeans.

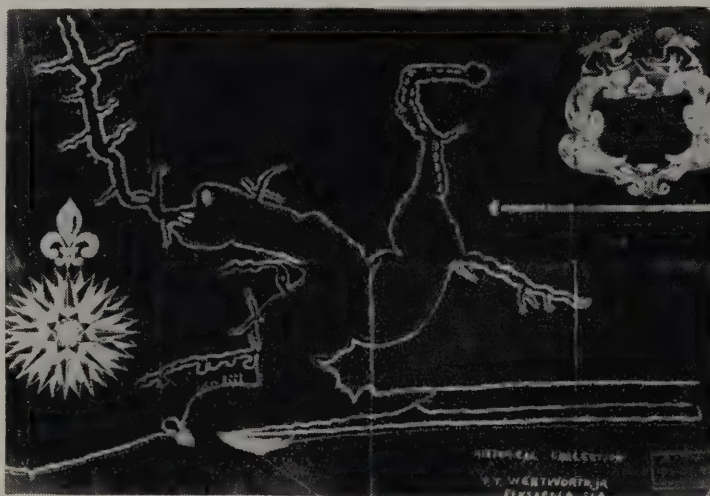
Hope Among The Indians

These Indians called their village Nanipaena, but gave little additional information, and so, with the village as a base, the sergeant major sent out other exploratory parties. They found nothing of interest, and so, remaining at the village, the sergeant major sent 16 soldiers back to Santa Maria to inform Don Tristan about the village.

These 16 found De Luna and his group in desperate straits. The small store of supplies that had been salvaged from the caravel was exhausted and the general and his people, resigned to the notion that the sergeant major and his party must have been slain by natives, were about to set out for the interior themselves when the 16 soldiers arrived. Upon learning that there were maize and other foodstuffs at Nanipaena, the colony set out at once and after an arduous trip, reached the Indian village.

The party was large and the supply of foodstuffs was not, and Don Tristan soon found himself again without sustenance for his followers and far from the fish and oysters of Santa Maria Bay. Men, women and children fell to eating acorns and herbs from the forests, but these did not suffice and many began to make arrangements with the priests for a better life hereafter.

We can safely surmise that it was by now mid-winter and that the Spaniards were some dis-



De Arriola's map of the town of Pensacola and the bay about 1698.



Old Spanish map of Pensacola and the bay before 1719

tance inland. Although the sergeant major's party originally had marched 40 days before finding the river, it is recorded that the route back from Nanipacna was later made in three days, which would indicate a distance of from 60 to 75 miles inland. At any rate, DeLuna's followers were in an unhappy fix; it was no time for women and children to travel through the forests, even if there had been some place to go. Certainly they might have been better off back at Santa Maria, although not much. At any rate, about this time Don Tristan got news which led him to believe the province of Coza was not too far away, and those among the soldiery who had been there previously insisted that in that province all would be well.

And so the general sent out another party, of about 200 persons, to search for this promised land, while some 800 remained with him at Nanipacna.

After 50 days of further marching inland, the detachment of 200 reached a river where they found some Indians who called the river Olibahali. These natives exchanged some food for barter articles which the Spaniards offered, but on the whole were not hospitable and eventually, through a ruse, lured the white men on farther inland in search of the Coza, furnishing them a guide who pretended to be one of the Coza nation. When the guide disappeared, the Spaniards proceeded on anyway, and eventually they actually did locate the Coza, where they were warmly received. The Coza were at war with another tribe, and the aid

of the Spaniards was enlisted to bring this recalcitrant band back under Coza domination.

After this mission was successfully concluded, a captain and 12 soldiers were detailed to return to Nanipacna and give DeLuna a report. The return to Nanipacna occupied 12 days, but upon arriving the soldiers found that DeLuna and his group had departed for Santa Maria, and so they proceeded on to the port, which they reached in three days.

Whence Came Ships?

DeLuna, at Nanipacna, had become resigned to the conclusion that the soldiers sent to the Coza had perished, and so had ordered a return to Santa Maria. When he had arrived there, Father Feria had asked permission to go to Havana and New Spain to obtain aid. Don Tristan detailed two ships and sent the padre, with a part of the colony, off in them.

Whether these ships were built by the colonists or whether they had chanced to wander into Santa Maria is not stated by historians. This is just one of the obscurities which leave so much room for conjecture, and which have given rise to considerable speculation, sometimes creating legends inconsistent with other evidence and facts.

Father Feria left DeLuna's colony torn by dissension to the point of mutiny. Upon the return of the contingent from Coza, DeLuna wanted



Old Fort San Carlos

to move the colony there at once, but the soldiery refused, following the leadership of Juan Ceron, the campmaster. And Don Tristan's efforts to punish the ringleaders could not be executed because he did not retain enough followers to constitute a sufficient force. Here, however, the priests stepped in and eventually reconciled both DeLuna and the rebels.

Meanwhile, Father Feria had convinced the Viceroy at Vera Cruz that the Coza country was not sufficiently populated or prosperous to warrant its conversion to the cause of Catholicism and Spain, and Governor Velasco immediately dispatched a ship with supplies which arrived in time to alleviate the suffering of the colony for the winter of 1560-61. The Viceroy also appointed a new governor of Florida, Don Angel de Villafane, and this worthy reached Santa Maria with ample supplies during Easter week of 1561.

Don Angel listened to arguments pro and con as to whether the colony should be continued, but finally was convinced it should be abandoned. So, with most of the settlers who never got settled, he sailed for Havana. Don Tristan and a few loyal followers remained and DeLuna wrote the Viceroy arguing for a continuation of the colonization, but the latter ordered him back to Vera Cruz.

And so Pensacola Bay was abandoned. The first Florida boom had collapsed. But the Spaniard had got sand in his shoes, and like many others throughout the next three and a half-hundred years, he would return.

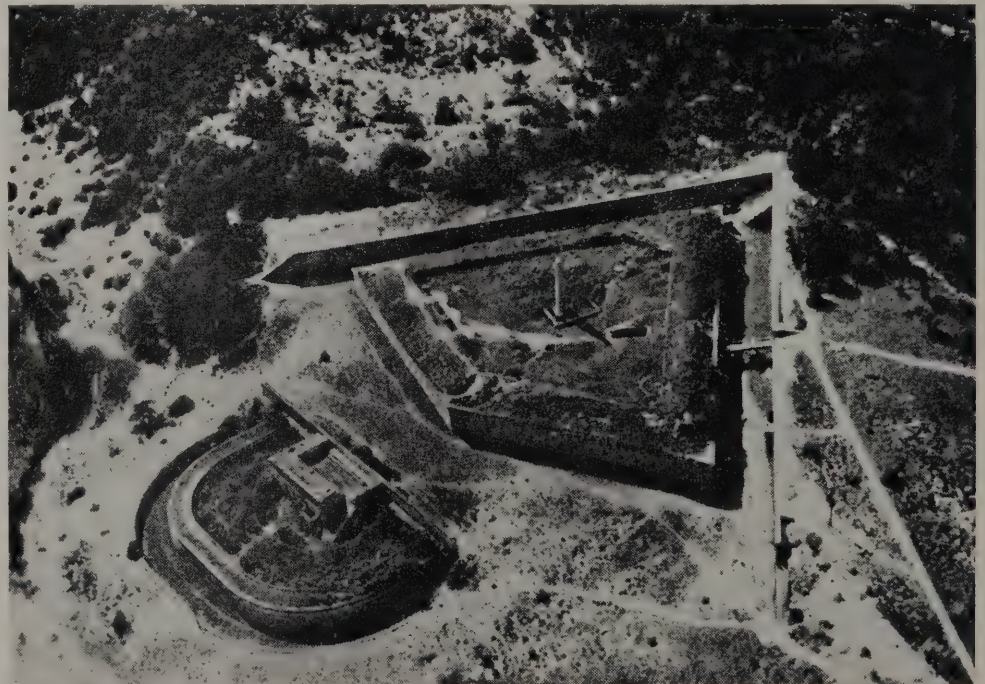
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Failure Was In Leadership

Some historians intersperse their facts, especially when such are sparse, with their opinions, with the result that the reader often can not distinguish between fact and figment. This writer begs license to make a few observations from such facts as are stated in the foregoing, emphasizing that they are largely presumptions.

It seems obvious that DeLuna was not endowed with those qualities of leadership that would have made for successful colonization, even if adversity had not deprived him of the supplies and materials he had brought. Even if we excuse his dilatory action in leaving his supplies aboard ships until the storm struck, we must admit that dissension in his ranks denotes poor leadership ability in any captain, and DeLuna's failure to take decisive steps is clearly perceptible.

RUINS OF FORT SAN CARLOS, above and right. Built by the Spanish General d'Arriola in 1669 to guard the entrance to Pensacola Bay and protect the settlement he established around the fort. French forces from Mobile reduced the fort in 1719, but Spain took possession again in 1723. During the wars of the Eighteenth Century between Spain, France and England the old fort changed hands many times. Below is an aerial view of the old fort and the more modern Fort Barrancas, built by the U.S. Government about 1830 to guard the new Navy Yard that lay to the east and north.



All previous accounts had reported the country rich and the forests and waters teeming with food. DeSoto's men had found it so good in the Coza country that some had begged and obtained permission to remain, and DeLuna's own party was advised that two of them had remained there until they died, twelve years after DeSoto passed through. All travelers reported that game was plentiful in the country, even including buffalo, but it is possible that DeLuna had not sufficient small arms and ammunition left to supply his forces by hunting. But even so, lack of initiative and ingenuity is apparent.

No stigma seems to have attached to Don Tristan later, possibly because of the seeming influence of his father—which may have procured the job for him in the first place.

St. Augustine Founded

It was 1562 and French and English corsairs continued to plunder the Spanish ships bringing treasure back from Mexico and Peru. Furthermore, the Church of Rome did not abandon its intention of converting the heathens of the New World. Still further, other nations, and particularly the Protestant sections of France, were threatening to plant colonies all along the Atlantic Seaboard of Florida, which land, in Spanish eyes, included everything north of Hispaniola. Jean Ribaut, a French naval commander, on May 1, 1562 (about the time Villafane was abandoning Pensacola), had planted a monument bearing the arms of France at the mouth of the St. John's River, and in June of 1564 Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere established Fort Caroline on St. John's bluff, nearby.

The Spanish galleons had begun to use the Bahama channel as a principal route back to Spain with their treasure loads. This fact made a colony on the eastern coast of Florida seem desirable.

And so, to protect its sealanes, to prevent further European usurpation of its new territory, to exterminate the heretics settling there, to convert the natives, and to exploit the possibilities of developing further sources of wealth for the Spanish monarchy, Pedro Menendez de Aviles was commissioned to go to Florida where, in 1565, he founded St. Augustine, first permanent settlement in what is now the continental United States.

* * *

French Force Action

Meanwhile, after DeLuna finally left it, Pensacola Bay lay abandoned. The Indians returned and it is possible that the pirates who infested the Spanish Main, along with such ships as chanced along, may have put in for fresh water or other purposes from time to time.

The Spaniards based at St. Augustine established missions at various points in eastern Florida, even as far west, apparently, as the Apalachicola River. But Spain as the world's most dominant power had overstretched, and France, Portugal and even Holland were nibbling at her empire, while increasing English naval power constituted an even graver threat and one which eventually was to relegate the Dons to imperial impotence.

But it was the French who forced the recolonization and permanent settlement of Pensacola. Robert Cavelier de La Salle from Canada had come down the Mississippi to the Gulf in canoes in 1683. Returning to France, in 1684 he organized an expedition which sailed into the Gulf and planted a colony, presumably in Texas. The Spaniards investigated and in 1686 Juan Enriquez Barroto sailed from Havana on a reconnaissance which included Pensacola Bay, but did not find the Frenchmen. However, another Spanish search in 1687 did disclose two wrecked French ships.

Don Andres de Pez, a naval officer of renown who had helped conduct these searches, went to Spain and submitted lengthy and vigorous arguments favoring a resettlement at Pensacola. He pointed out the danger to the Spanish possessions if the French should occupy and fortify it. He was quite lavish in his praise of Pensacola and its resources, mentioning the abundance of game and fish, the fertility of the land a short distance inland, and the extensive forests. He suggested that the garrison of St. Augustine be moved here, since the sea had begun to erode under some of the fortifications there.

His arguments were taken under advisement by the Council of War for the Indies who, on August 8, 1691, directed Count de Galve, the Viceroy in New Spain, to explore Pensacola and Mobile bays and the Mississippi estuary, and, if he saw fit, to start establishment of a colony, and on June 26, 1692, the King issued an order ratifying this directive.

By this time the general location of Pensacola had become known to the Spaniards as such, or as Panzacola, the name by which the Indians called it.

Pursuant to the order, De Pez, now an admiral, sailed from Vera Cruz on March 25, 1693. His party was aboard a frigate and a sloop and he was accompanied by Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, a retired mathematics professor of the University of Mexico widely reputed for his learning. On April 10 they entered the bay and Don Carlos immediately recognized it as the same at which Panfilo de Narvaez and Diego Maldonado had landed, and at which Don Tristan de Luna had attempted his colony and had named Santa Maria. Unwilling to change so sacred a name, they decreed that it should thereafter be known on the charts as Santa Maria de Galve. (This is the only name



Sketch of the town on Santa Rosa Island, drawn in 1743
and published in the Universal Magazine, London, 1746.

they bestowed at the time which endures to this day, what we now know as East Bay appearing on many modern charts by this appellation.)

Populous and Plenteous

Don Carlos proceeded to make a careful survey of the bay and its tributary streams. His description and report are too lengthy for full reproduction but his party discovered and named all points and streams from East River to the Perdido.

They found fresh traces of Indians and in fact saw some, who fled on their approach, along Escambia Bay and East Bay. Implements and pieces of Spanish cloth found in the Indians' camps probably came from the Spanish missions to the East. DePez' party learned that the Indians considered it a three-day march to Mobile, which the French were settling from a base on Dauphin Island.

DePez found the climate healthful except for children, under eight years old, few of whom, he said, survived. He reported finding flounder, pompano, sheepshead, porgy, skate, trout and other varieties of fish and on shore deer, buffalo, bear and native turkeys. He reported that provinces and nations of Indians were numerous and widespread. He named Chacatos, Aibamos, Talipees, Teguales, Talisi, Cebetas and Topotas Indians.

DePez attempted to enter Mobile Bay but sailed past, and was thwarted from finding a navigable entrance to the Mississippi River. However, his report was so favorable about Santa Maria de Galve that it was decided upon as a site for recolonization.

Gen. Don Andres de Arriola, first governor of Pensacola, sailed from Vera Cruz with 300 soldiers and settlers to found a settlement and build a fort on the cliffs within the harbor. The fort, a square with four palisaded bastions, was called San Carlos in honor of the reigning Spanish monarch, Charles II. They also erected a church, and housing for the colonists. The fort was on a slight elevation near the shore, "commanded on the northwest by San Isidro hill, a harquebus shot away; on the northeast by Calvario hill, the same distance away; and on the north by San Bernardo hill, a cannon shot away."

Main disadvantage of the fort was that no water was available within it. Potable water could be obtained by digging near the shore and letting sea water filter into the hole, but there was then no known way to sink a well into the sand under the fort. However, the Spaniards did not fear a siege from the Indians and felt that the fort's guns could keep any attacking ships, with their lower gun elevation, at a safe distance.

We have no detailed account of the day-to-day life of these colonists. Probably they had no scholar with them, as had DePez, to give a full report. But this was a military expedition, primarily, and De Arriola evidently went about his work in a military, efficient manner.

The Spaniard again had planted his standard on the Gulf Coast, with guns to back it up. When Pierre Lemoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, appeared off Santa Maria de Galve on January 24, 1698, with his colonization fleet, he was refused permission to enter the bay and continued west to Dauphin Island, where he planted a colony that was later

to move to what is now Mobile. He also established a post at Biloxi and explored and mapped the lower Mississippi, where, after a trip back to France for more men and supplies, he planted the French flag again at what became New Orleans.

The French now interposed a claim not only to lands west of the Mississippi, but also those west of the Perdido, and this claim apparently met no serious opposition from the Spanish. One historian recounts an unsuccessful expedition by the Spanish from Pensacola against the French at Ship Island in 1700, but there are no details and if it occurred it certainly did not keep relations between the two colonies tense for very long.

For Awhile, Friendship

For there was a general feeling of amity. In part it was due to the fact that France, under Louis XIV, and Spain, by then ruled by Philip V, were both governed by monarchs of the House of Bourbon, close relatives and allies, in the War of the Spanish Succession, against England. In that War Spain, which had stretched her empire all the

way to the Philippines in the Orient, saw her decline as a world power accelerate and, among other losses, had eventually to cede Louisiana to the French.

In 1702 Iberville, with two warships bringing supplies from France to his colonists, anchored in Pensacola Bay and transferred his cargo to smaller vessels which could negotiate Mobile Bay, where he had established Fort Louis. At about the same time, when the English from Carolina, leading an invasion force made up largely of Indians, invaded Florida and threatened Fort San Carlos, aid was sent by the French at Mobile to the Spaniards. Iberville's brother, Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, Sieur d'Bienville, who was in charge at Fort St. Louis, led a force of Canadians to Pensacola and helped drive the invaders back. The two posts exchanged food and ammunition in times of need and a lively trade in food and other supplies grew up.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ended the War of the Spanish Succession, which had involved a large part of Europe, and in which Spain had

BRITISH MAP, 1765
Showing the two provinces, West Florida and East Florida.





Pensacola Bay in the British period, about 1768,
from the original in the Library of Congress.

DRAWING BY LOUIS MCGIRR

lost not only Louisiana but also Gibraltar and some Italian territory. In 1715 Philip V, determined to regain this latter territory from Austria, made war upon that state and found himself eventually also aligned against England and France.

In the latter country there had begun a craze of speculation over the possibilities in Louisiana, led by one John Law. It had the lure of both a real estate boom and a lottery and thousands of Frenchmen "invested" and great colonization plans were made. Furthermore, about the same time, the French attempted to establish a foothold east of Pensacola, building Fort Crevecoeur on St. Joseph's Bay, which was abandoned, however, under Spanish threats.

By 1716 Don Gregorio de Salinas, whose term as governor at Pensacola was nearing an end, had become disturbed by the spread of the French to the west, their increasing influence among the Indians, and their erection of new fortifications at many points. Don Andres de Barcia, principal historian of the period, reported that while De Salinas did not remonstrate with the French or take any action to expel them because of the amity then existing between France and Spain, he did advise the Viceroy of New Spain of his suspicions of French intent and of the vulnerability of Santa Maria de Galve Bay. He urged fortification of

Point Siguenza, western end of Santa Rosa Island named for the retired professor who had mapped and charted the bay in 1693. This was necessary, De Salinas said, because the guns of the Castillo de San Carlos did not have sufficient range to prevent enemy ships from crossing the bar and entering the harbor.

De Salinas had received reports that the French claimed Pensacola Bay should be theirs, anyway, by virtue of an alleged previous settlement. This claim was, of course, fraudulent. But there were no harbor dredges in those days and the French were without an adequate port at either Mobile, Biloxi or New Orleans, since the sea had filled the harbors with sand at the entrances, and there is every probability that Bienville coveted the fine anchorage here.

It does not appear that Don Gregorio's recommendation for fortifying the western end of Santa Rosa Island was adopted. But the garrison at Pensacola was ordered to strengthen its defenses and reinforcements no doubt were sent. Furthermore, in 1718, the Spanish built a fort at St. Marks and the following year established an outpost at the mouth of the Apalachicola River.

The French at Mobile received orders in April, 1719, to take Pensacola, and Bienville immediately

began secret preparations to do so. He assembled a force of 400 Indians, led by Canadians, to attack Fort San Carlos by land and assigned his brother, Sevigny, to command a flotilla of three men-of-war carrying 150 men to lay siege by sea.

Don Juan Pedro Matamoros, then governor at Pensacola, had apparently not received word that war between Spain and France had begun the previous December. At any rate, it appears that the French action caught him by surprise and unprepared.

The French vessels, which were the Phillippe, the Toulouse and the Marechal de Villars, made a perfect conjunction at Pensacola with the land forces which had come overland, at 5 o'clock on the afternoon of May 14, 1719.

The Second Flag

Capitulation was Matamoros' only recourse, and he obtained favorable surrender terms. He was permitted to march his garrison out of the fort with the honors of war, with a promise of transportation to Havana in French vessels, and it was stipulated that property rights of the soldiers and of the citizenry of the town would be respected.

The actual date of agreement upon surrender terms is not known, but since little fighting was reported before the surrender, we may assume it was in May of 1719 that Pensacola knew its first exchange of flags.

* * *

Matters were moving rather rapidly, for that day and age, for by June 18 the Spanish garrison was aboard the French frigates Conde de Toulouse and Morechal de Villars, and embarked for Havana according to the terms of the surrender secured by Don Juan Pedro Matamoros.

In that city, Don Gregorio Guazo, the new governor, who had fortified various Cuban coastal villages against further depredation by English and other privateers, had prepared a large expedition to drive the British from Fort George in Carolina. This force had already sailed when, outside Havana, it encountered the two French vessels with the Pensacola garrison. The Spanish armada captured the French vessels and put about back to Havana, where, after a conference, it was decided to abandon the offensive against Fort George in favor of recapturing Pensacola.

And so on July 29, Don Alfonso Carrascosa de la Torre, commanding the naval force consisting of a Spanish warship, nine brigantines and the two French vessels, sailed back to recapture Pensacola and Santa Maria de Galve Bay. He came by way of the Bay of St. Joseph, where Don Gregorio de Salinas had established an outpost, and there was assured that the French had not improved the fortifications at Pensacola.

Arriving east of Santa Maria de Galve Bay, Carrascosa discerned that Point Siguenza was unoccupied, and sent 100 men to take it. The Spanish force then entered the bay on August 6. They found two French frigates inside, one of which they captured. The French crew set fire to the other to avoid capture. The Spanish forces bombarded Fort San Carlos and demanded surrender of Chateaugue Lemoyne, brother of Bienville, who had been left in charge after the French capture. Chateaugue requested and was granted an armistice until 10 o'clock the following morning, when he hoisted a surrender flag.

A Spanish historian of the time says that Don Alfonso immediately went into the church, where a "te deum laudamus" was sung in thanksgiving for restoration of the port to the Spanish throne, and all hands attended the service. Then Don Alfonso restored as governor Don Juan Pedro Matamoros.

The Frenchmen, numbering perhaps 350 altogether, were sent to Havana as prisoners. There they were housed in the famous Moro Castle prison, awaiting further transfer to Spain; but Bienville was to deliver his brother Chateaugue and his men before this transfer could take place.

Carrascosa, in accepting the surrender of Chateaugue, had agreed not to let his men plunder the effects of the Frenchmen, and the Spanish troops were disgruntled about this. To appease them, he staged an attack on a French trading post about 25 leagues away, capturing 160 Negro slaves whom the Indians were working for the French, and these were brought back. He also ordered an attack on Mascara, a French settlement on Dauphin Island, but the Spaniards found this too well fortified. So they sailed up the river to very near a point where the village of Mobile stood, plundering farm houses along the shore. A landing party was wiped out, however, and the remaining Spanish force returned to Pensacola.

Meanwhile, Matamoros had set to work at once fortifying Point Siguenza, where later Fort Pickens was to stand sentinel at the harbor's entrance. Fort San Carlos was repaired and the woods near it were cleared, despite repeated attacks by small bands of Indians. Matamoros sensed that these Indians were being sent by the French and that an attack in force by Bienville's troops was imminent.

In slightly more than a month, on September 18, the French attack came. Count de Champmeslin had arrived at Dauphin Island early in that month and offered to lead a sea attack on Pensacola while Bienville organized and directed the land assault. The latter was to be made by 250 soldiers and 500 Indians. De Champmeslin had a squadron of six ships, the Hercules of 64 guns, the Mars of 60, the Triton with 50, and the others of lesser armament.

A Spanish historian says five of the French vessels entered the harbor flying Spanish flags but were immediately recognized and were getting the worse of it until the big *Hercules*, probably with a favorable tide, came in and joined the battle. The Spanish ships inside the bay, although heavily outgunned, joined with the still incomplete fortress at Point Siguenza, but their combined firepower was insufficient. Two Spanish sloops, a brigantine and a pirogue withdrew and attempted to escape through Santa Rosa Sound to the east, but only the brigantine and pirogue succeeded. After a ten-hour battle, Don Alfonso Carrascosa struck the colors on the Spanish ships remaining. On Santa Rosa Island, Don Bruno Caballero, with the garrison of the new fort, which had been battered to the ground, did likewise. And in San Carlos, Don Juan Pedro Matamoros, after an effective stand against the land forces, requested a two-hour armistice to consider a surrender demand, after which he capitulated also.

The French did not feel capable of defending Pensacola and so resolved to destroy its fortifications. Artillery at Point Siguenza was tossed into the sea. The church, storehouses and barracks which the Spanish had erected at Fort San Carlos were burned, and the gun carriages put aboard French ships. Only a few small buildings were left to house a temporary French garrison.

On the site of the fort was erected a tablet:

"In the year 1719, on the 18th day of September, M. Desnard de Champmeslin, commander of the squadron of His Most Christian Majesty, captured this place and the island of Santa Rosa by force of arms."

* * *

City On The Island

On February 17, 1720, a treaty of peace was signed between France and Spain and in January, 1723, Bienville restored Pensacola to the Spanish. Apparently the Perdido River was recognized as a boundary between Florida and the French colonies to the west.

The Spanish rebuilt where Matamoros had previously urged, on Santa Rosa Island. From this fact we can safely deduce that the nature of Pensacola was considered then merely a military post existing because of the anchorage inside. Certainly no permanent town could have been planned on the sterile sands of the island. But since the days of DeSoto's cruel inroads into Florida, the Spanish had not succeeded in winning back the friendship of any considerable number of the Indians, and in point of fact the Indians had played a large part in Champmeslin's 1719 assault on the town, and the island was the most easily defensible site against native assaults.

The garrison was probably never very large and such water as was required probably came from shallow seepage wells in the sand and from catchments, or cisterns. No researcher of this period of Pensacola's past has yet uncovered a chronicler of its events from 1723 to 1754 who gave any interesting account of it. It must have known the usual monotony of a garrison, relieved only by the visits of Spanish supply ships. One of these, a trading schooner from the Havana company, came in 1743 with a cargo of supplies, and an artist aboard, Don Serres, made a sketch of the island town which appeared in a London magazine. The schooner carried some pitch and two pine spars, each 84 feet long, back to Havana, and this is the first recorded instance of a trade in pine products which was later to mean so much to Pensacola.

In 1754 a hurricane virtually wiped out the island town and many persons perished. How many we do not know, but it is recorded that after the storm the survivors moved to the mainland, to the approximate site of what is Pensacola today.

Here the Spaniards rebuilt a post consisting of 40 huts thatched with palmetto fronds, and a barracks, all surrounded by a stockade of pine posts. While the historians do not mention it, there certainly was also some sort of church, for the Spaniards had by no means abandoned their intense piety and devotion to the church. It is apparent also that the Spaniards continued their efforts to win back the good will of the Indians, with some degree of success, else the mainland city could not have remained.

In Europe, France and Spain were at war with England. To the east, Florida was in continuous armed strife, with the Spanish colonists and their Indian allies on the one side and the English and their native adherents on the other.

But Pensacola seems to have escaped most of this conflict. It was pictured as a lazy garrison, its inhabitants making no effort to cultivate the ground but depending for supplies on the French post at Mobile and probably such game and produce as the Indians brought in to barter. Game, including buffalo and deer, were abundant throughout the region and the waters teemed with fish, and nature's provident plentitude combined with the Spaniard's disdain of toil and trade to make of Pensacola a place of indolent indulgence in mere living.

But when the clash of conflict elsewhere ceased, Pensacola was to be vitally affected. On November 3, 1762, France and Spain secretly agreed that Spain was to possess all of Louisiana as claimed by the French. Simultaneously, by the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years War, England acquired all of Florida, east of the Mississippi River,

except New Orleans, in exchange for Havana, which the English had captured from the Spanish. This latter treaty was ratified on February 10, 1763.

The Third Flag

On August 7 of that year, by the terms of the treaty, Captain Wills, commanding the third battery of Royal British Artillery, arrived from Havana where he had participated in the occupation of that port, and took charge of Pensacola. It was the agreed duty of Spain to remove her garrison forces, but subjects were given the choice of remaining. However, the British stipulated that freedom of religion should prevail, and the Spaniards, to the last man, woman and child, according to all historians of the time, petitioned the Spanish authorities to move them also. The request was granted and all went aboard ships to Vera Cruz on September 2, leaving the British in charge.

English energy and enterprise were promptly applied and a city was started.

The British had divided their new colonial holding into East Florida, lying east of the Chattahoochee River, and West Florida, extending on to the Mississippi, with St. Augustine and Pensacola

as provincial capitals. West Florida extended as far north as the 31st parallel, and thus included what is now Alabama farther north than Montgomery, and a great deal of the present state of Mississippi, as well as what are now the southeastern parishes of Louisiana, still referred to as the "Florida parishes."

With Pensacola's birth as a city also began its affinity for the Navy. The first governor of West Florida was Capt. George Johnstone, captain in the Royal Navy, who ordered the town platted and surveyed and who inspired the royal geographer to publish a "history" of the region which really served as a very successful real estate promotion tract and induced many settlers to come in, from other English colonies in America and from abroad, settling not only in Pensacola but in the fertile interior. Whereas when the British took over the population of the entire area had numbered about 7,000 (including mostly inhabitants of Pensacola and Mobile), 20 years later it was estimated at 25,000.

Military personnel received grants of land, ranging from 5,000 acres for a field officer down to 50 acres for a private. The city was laid out in "town lots," south of what is now Intendencia

Plan of the entire old city of Pensacola as laid out by the British in 1773, showing the original stockade which extended from Intendencia Street to the bay and from Palafox to Alcaniz.



Street," and "arpent lots," or garden plots, to the north. The buyer or grantee of a town lot received a garden plot also.

What is now Palafox Street was known as George Street, named after the King, and two streets to the east was Charlotte Street, later known as Alcaniz.

What is now Garden Street was the northern boundary of the lotted city, but George Street ran from the bay north, between two ponds or swamps, to Gage Hill, where Lee Square now is, with drainage ditches on each side.

A star-shaped fort was built in the park, which was all the area between Charlotte and George Streets south of what is now Intendencia. This was the headquarters of the southern military



The Pantón-Leslie warehouse, at the foot of Baylen Street, was the center of a far-flung trading activity in the 18th Century.

district of the English colonies in America, commander of which was Gen. Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer experienced in colonial campaigning. This fort apparently was the only fortification of the town.

In addition to the artillery unit, there was a regiment of infantry, and General Bouquet having died soon after arrival here, Gen. Frederick Haldimand was in command. An outbreak of scurvy among the garrison in 1765 caused efforts to procure a steady supply of fresh vegetables. For this, an area to the west of the city extending almost to Bayou Chico was cleared and planted to garden crops.

Fort George Is Built

Johnstone's regime as governor was marked by dissension and in 1766 he resigned, being succeeded by his lieutenant, Montefort Brown, on December 17. In the following July John Elliott was appointed governor but never arrived, dying

soon after, and Brown continued as governor until Peter Chester arrived in 1772.

Chester was a man of marked ability, and General Gage, in charge of all English military forces in America, needed able men everywhere as dissension throughout the northern colonies was slowly warming up toward the eruption that would start the American Revolution.

Immediately upon arrival in Pensacola, Governor Chester took steps for governmental reforms aimed to clear up the dissension that had marked Johnstone's administration, and also, under orders from Gage, began to improve the fortifications. Fort George, a quadrangular structure with four bastions, was built on Gage Hill, and construction of batteries was begun at Tartar Point, now occupied by the U.S. Naval Air Station, and at Red Cliff, site of old Fort San Carlos. Visual communication system was set up between Fort George and the rebuilt Fort San Carlos, via the Tartar Point post, and this in later years led to a firm but unfounded legend that a tunnel ran from Fort George all the way to San Carlos.

Administration of West Florida was centered in a council chamber in Fort George, and it must have been a busy room, for the town was growing rapidly. Treaties of trade with nearby Indian tribes were negotiated here, and in this room also was supervised—subject to approval by General Gage—virtually every phase of the city's development.

The development was extensive, considering what the British had found when they took over. Several hundred homes and stores were built, in addition to military construction, and one historian reports that during the last three years of the Revolution alone England spent more than \$1,500,000 in Pensacola. But the loyalty of Florida



Residence of Spain's Intendente during the period of Spanish occupation.



Old Spanish residence at Gull Point.
(FROM AN 1885 PRINT)

to the British throne had a two-way effect on Pensacola—it resulted in some temporary military reduction, for a regiment was detached to Massachusetts after the “Boston Tea Party,” and at the same time Tory citizens and merchants generally flocked to Florida, the majority to East Florida.

But among those who came to Pensacola, and of significance in its history, was William Panton, who had headed the big Scottish trading firm of Panton, Leslie & Company, at its Charleston and Savannah posts. William Panton and John Forbes had first moved to East Florida, but found Pensacola better situated as a headquarters because it was nearer the rich interior they previously had penetrated from Charleston and Savannah, and, while maintaining posts at St. Augustine, they moved the main business here, with branches also at St. Marks, Apalachicola, Mobile, Chickasaw Bluffs and probably other smaller posts inland.

Some historians claim Panton was the “first American millionaire,” but this is highly suppositious; Cortez in Mexico more than 200 years before had handled many millions in gold and jewels from the Aztec and other Indians and probably got a princely material reward. At any rate, Panton’s was a prosperous firm. Until the turn of this century the ruins of its Pensacola post were still discernible at a point near Main and Baylen Streets. Long lines of pack horses went out into the interior, even north of the Tennessee River, carrying goods the Indians and settlers needed and bringing back skins, furs, honey, bees-wax, jerked

venison and other products for sale and export. Furs were numerous, especially beaver, which busily built their dams to within a few miles of Pensacola before their eventual extinction here.

A Man of Peace

Associated with Panton and principally responsible for his trading success and certainly a factor in Pensacola’s history was Gen. Alexander McGillivray. If one had to select a single hero for the Pensacola story, it would be difficult not to nominate him, even over such other colorful characters as DeLuna, Arriola and Gen. Andrew Jackson.

McGillivray was the son of a Scotsman, Lachland McGillivray, who had come to the New World and joined a caravan of English traders. On one of his forays into the interior Lachland met and subsequently married Sehoy Marchand, a beautiful daughter of an Indian mother and a French army officer. And Alexander seems to have inherited the best traits of his ancestors, his canny Scotch father, his tactful French grandfather, and his resourceful Indian forebears.

His father desired him to enter business and schooled him in Charleston for that future. Under the best private tutelage obtainable he received a fine education. This his mother’s people needed, an educated man to lead them in their struggle for existence with the whites. Perhaps he needed them also. At any rate he became the Great Chief of the Creeks, who had become predominant in the region of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi north of the 31st parallel. He was a man of peace, and directed his great talents toward an attempt to reconcile the needs of his people with the land-grabbing of the colonists. In this seemingly impossible task, he succeeded, keeping peace in his time.

How adroit he must have been can be judged from the fact that the British, in Florida, were constantly trying to incite him against the American colonists who in turn also wanted his aid. But McGillivray kept his people strictly neutral, and later was able to negotiate with Washington himself, in New York, a treaty favorable to the Creeks—had it been adhered to.

He kept the British at Pensacola somewhat mollified by the profitable trade he brought to the port and to the house of Panton, Leslie, to whom he appears to have been always faithful.

His story, fully told, would more than occupy all these pages. It is but one of several colorful, romantic and highly interesting episodes concerning Pensacola’s history we are forced to limit, saying here only that he kept his people at peace and in his later years kept their trade for Pensacola, despite the enticements offered him from

Charleston and Savannah in the new United States, until his death in Pensacola, in February of 1793, of causes to this day unknown. He was buried, it was said, in the garden of the Panton, Leslie headquarters centered along what is now Main Street between Baylen and Barcelona Streets, and though no monument marked the grave, the Pensacola Historical Society has lately placed a marker near the supposed location.

Spanish Watch and Wait

By the time the American Revolution began as a shooting war, the British found themselves in a somewhat unfriendly world. Spain and France still smarted from the loss of their American colonies by the first Treaty of Versailles, and France of course became an open ally of the Americans. Spain, in turn, became an ally of France, though not of the Americans. In Louisiana, the Spanish governor, Don Bernardo de Galvez, kept one eye on Pensacola and the other on the waning British strength in America.

Sensing this, the British strengthened the garrison at Pensacola. On January 29, 1779, Gen. John Campbell arrived with a British force of 1,200 men, a part of which he sent on to Fort Bute, a post near New Orleans on the western boundary of West Florida.

By August of 1779 De Galvez was ready to move, and on the 30th captured Fort Bute. He then took Baton Rouge, at considerable loss of his forces. In March of 1780 he took Fort Charlotte at Mobile, after a ten-day fight. The Spanish commander then paused to await reinforcements before proceeding against Pensacola, and meanwhile the success of the American Revolutionists made British reinforcement of Campbell's garrison at Pensacola impossible.

As a matter of fact, Pensacola was not even adequately supplied with food and other needed materials, but late in 1780 a British cruiser captured some merchant vessels in the Gulf and brought in all sorts of provisions and supplies to relieve a near famine.

The Indians alone remained friends of the British here, but the Creeks were being rent by some dissension. There had been an English ensign named William Bowles cashiered for misconduct at Pensacola who had gone to the Creek nation and married a daughter of a chief. He tried to persuade the Creeks that their McGillivray was betraying them, and won some adherents among the more war-like elements of the tribe. (The Creeks had originally come to Alabama from Mexico, and the Aztec fighting instinct was strong in them, while McGillivray was a man of peace.) Appearing at Pensacola with his followers, "General" Bowles, as he styled himself, accepted back his commission as an ensign and some of his forces

drove away a Spanish reconnaissance patrol that appeared on the banks of the Perdido.

Spanish ships also had appeared off the harbor from time to time and on March 9, 1781, General Campbell and his men heard a signal of seven guns from the Mentor, which they took as a signal to Spanish land forces. By 9 o'clock a.m. March 10 there were 38 Spanish ships landing troops and field pieces, though not in force or, seemingly, in effective positions. From a Santa Rosa Island battery, the British patted the Mentor with 28 hits from 24-pound pieces but the Spanish ship, already inside the bay, only moved closer to the town. On March 18 three more Spanish ships entered the bay with no apparent damage from the batteries on the island and at Red Cliff, and the next day most of the remaining Spanish ships came in despite heavy fire from Red Cliff. Now Galvez had 38 vessels inside the harbor and land forces estimated at 12,000 to the north and west of the city, but still he waited for reinforcements from Havana. The British resistance at Forts Bute and Charlotte had taught him, at heavy cost, caution. On April 16 the reinforcements came, 18 more ships and land forces with heavy siege artillery.

Again the Flag of Aragon

Spanish troops from the ships had attempted a landing near the city while awaiting the reinforcements, but were driven back to the boats with heavy losses by a force of Indians led by a detachment from Fort George with two field pieces.

On April 22, however, a successful landing was made, and the Spaniards continued to establish camps around the city and set up emplacements for artillery. One of these camps was located at the head of Bayou Chico, somewhat near and southerly from an area now known as Jackson Heights. Probably Galvez had his headquarters there, for the location was known for many years later as Galvez Springs.

The British planned an attack on the nearer of one of these camps on April 22 but the Spaniards had apparently been forewarned and it was repulsed. However, the following day, General Campbell himself led an assault against the camp and caught the Spaniards by surprise, killing many and destroying gun emplacements. It was the last British offensive, however, and by April 27 Forts George and the units at Red Cliff were completely invested and under the muzzles of heavy artillery.

A heavy Spanish entrenchment had occurred on what is now Brainard Street between Spring and Barcelona Streets, named Fort San Bernardo in honor of the patron saint of Galvez. For the principal bombardment of Fort George, and as protection against Indian attacks from the rear, it became almost as heavily fortified and ramified as Fort George itself.



Blowing up of Fort George by French and Spanish forces in 1781. The site of the fort is at the top of Palafox Hill, southwest of Lee Square. The old earthworks can be traced.

A detailed description of the siege of Fort George is not available but firing on it, and in return from it on Fort San Bernardo, was heavy and incessant except for a brief lull on May 1 when the British were forced to suspend firing for rest and repairs. The Spanish, suspecting a ruse, did not attempt an assault during this pause, but kept on firing.

On May 8 a Spanish shell struck the main powder magazine of Fort George, where 50 men were killed outright and many more wounded in an explosion that rocked all of Pensacola and breached the walls of the fort.

Now General Campbell found himself with his ramparts exposed to assault, a weary force of less than 800 men facing an enemy of 15,000, and no hope of relief because George Washington was keeping other British land forces in America busy while Admiral DeGrasse of the French Navy had their sea forces fully occupied. So Campbell hoisted a white flag and dictated terms under which he would surrender. Galvez at first repudiated the offer, but when Campbell threatened to fight on to the last man, Galvez granted the terms.

Most important of the terms was a stipulation that British troops were to be taken, in Spanish

ships, "to a British port." Eventually they were taken to Brooklyn, to augment forces fighting the Colonies there.

And George Washington did not like it. Later Galvez was to write him an apologetic explanation of the Spanish acceptance of Campbell's capitulation, and although Washington was to appear mollified, the Pensacola conflict with the interests of the United States had begun, and Spain was destined later to pay the penalty.

On May 9, 1781, the British marched out and stacked their arms. The drums rolled and the fifes piped, and the Spaniard had returned once more to Pensacola.

Exodus of English

Galvez tarried only shortly in Pensacola. After the Pensacola capitulation, Don Arturo O'Niell was appointed Governor here and to him fell the task of administering the final terms of surrender.

These terms were severe on the British citizens, in that Spain decreed they might remain but all who did so must accept the Catholic faith. Few chose to do this, and they were allowed 18 months to dispose of their property. The period was event-

ually extended to 22 months. But under forced sales, buyers were few and choosy, and the British generally had to accept whatever they could get. The exodus of the English was nearly as complete as had been that of the Spaniards in 1763.

Spain allowed and even encouraged one notable exception to the religious edict. William Panton not only was excepted from the rule, but the Spanish even conferred honors upon him, for, militarily and commercially, he was necessary to them. They had never been able since DeSoto's belligerent penetration of the country to regain the complete friendship of any appreciable number of Indians, and Panton, through his friend McGillivray, commanded this friendship and alliance. McGillivray likewise dominated the trade with the Indians of the Coosa country.

There were boundary disputes between Spain and officials of the new United States government, and there was keen rivalry between commercial interests at Pensacola and American traders at Charleston and Savannah for the trade with the Creeks. And so Panton was given a military title by the Spanish, and McGillivray was given a civil governorship of the Creek nation that carried with it a salary equivalent to about \$3,500 a year.

The large force which accompanied Galvez here had included many who remained as settlers and garrison forces, but little activity of note marked O'Neill's administration, which continued until 1792. During this time Fort San Carlos was rebuilt at the original site which the British had called Red Cliff.

During this time also McGillivray's troubles continued to increase. There was some treachery within his own ranks inspired by the renegade William Bowles, but the latter was eventually expelled by the Spanish, and after a checkered career that according to one historian included some piracy, came to his death in a Spanish prison. And although McGillivray had obtained from Washington an agreement setting aside lands in the Coosa as hunting grounds for the Creeks, the Georgia, Carolina and Tennessee pioneers paid little attention to its terms and the Indians found themselves being pushed farther and farther back. Also, McGillivray's treaty with Washington had aroused the suspicions of the Spanish at Pensacola, and perhaps even raised some doubts in the mind of Panton himself as to his ally's fidelity, which may account for the fact that, although at his death McGillivray was "buried with Masonic honors" in Panton's garden, not even a mound of bricks was placed to mark the grave of this remarkable man.

The End of Indian Peace

But if his contemporaries mistrusted him, it is clear, in the sharp focus which lapse of time allows, that their doubts were unfounded. McGillivray was not unfaithful to anyone; he was intensely faithful

to the Creeks, his people by affinity and consanguinity. And he was not the first, nor will he be the last, to suffer the delusion that, in a conflict of greed and ideology, peace is possible. His life had added immeasurably to the wealth of William Panton, whose house reached such affluence that it was banker to the Spanish government here which at one time owed Panton \$200,000.00.

His death was Development No. 2 (acceptance by Galvez of the British surrender terms had been the first) in the series of events that would lead eventually to United States acquisition of Florida. For his passing lifted the restraining hand that had kept the Creeks from retaliating against the encroaching settlers, a retaliation which eventually was to bring Gen. Andrew Jackson into Pensacola.

In 1792 Enrique White succeeded O'Neill as governor, and he in turn was followed by Francisco de Paula Gelabert, who served "ad interim" until appointment of Vincente Folch y Juan in 1796.

The latter was an energetic administrator, who began by decreeing that the town should be moved nearer Fort San Carlos. He had a plat made of a tract about half a mile from the fort, and called it San Carlos de Barrancas, the latter word being a Spanish term for an uneven, or broken, expanse of land.

But Spaniards had acquired property in the Pensacola that England had built, and their protests caused abandonment of Folch's plans. However, the British town plan was altered and lots were sold in the great public square that lay between Charlotte and George streets. Eventually, of this square, only Seville Square and Plaza Ferdinand as we know them today remained public places.

Streets also were renamed, mostly as a result of the Peninsula War in Spain, during Folch's term, which extended to 1809. George street became Palafox, after Jose de Palafox y Melzi, a brilliant young Spaniard who rose high by fighting on even after his king, Ferdinand VII, abdicated the Spanish throne under Napoleon's pressure.

Zarragossa, Baylen, Alcaniz and Tarragona were named after towns or cities in Spain where notable battles were fought. Intendencia was the home street of the "intendente", or governor, etc.

Insofar as written history notes, the first ship was built here during Folch's administration. It was built on Santa Rosa peninsula, at a site known for many years as the Marine Ways cove, looking northward toward the town. The vast live oak forests of the peninsular must have provided fine timbers; it is recorded that the ship traded in and out of Pensacola until as late as 1870.

Folch left Pensacola in October of 1809 to become governor, at Mobile, of a Spanish territorial

remnant east of the Mississippi which extended to the Perdido and the capital of which was Mobile.

His son-in-law, Maximiliano de Saint Maxent, served an interim appointment until July, 1812, when Maricio Zuniga became governor briefly. In May, 1813, the administration was assumed by Mateo Gurzalez Maurique, who remained governor during the remainder of the War of 1812, which the United States had declared against Great Britain on June 18, 1812.

Conditions conspired to make it inevitable that Pensacola should again know the clash of arms and the flow of blood in that war. Some of those conditions were born in Europe, where in 1800 Spain had been forced to cede to France that part of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi. In 1803 Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States. This brought on a dispute between the United States and Spain over the area between the Mississippi and the Perdido. Now, Britain was an ally of Spain in her war against Napoleon, and, although Spain was technically at peace with the United States, the English persuaded Spanish authorities here and at Mobile to permit them to use the ports as bases against the Americans.

With McGillivray gone the Indians had become increasingly hostile toward the Americans, and the British made full use of this.

Upon capturing Detroit they sent the great Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, into the Creek country. An imperious, martial figure, Tecumseh also was a first-rate orator and a skillful psychologist, and he easily convinced many of the Creeks that tilling the soil and herding cattle were not for warriors such as they. He pointed out that the British had no desire for their hunting grounds, in contrast to the avarice of the Americans. He gave each of his



This stone is said to mark the cemetery of Alexander McGillivray, the quarter-breed Chief of the Creek Nation and an associate of Panton-Leslie in their trading operations.

converts a red stick (baton rouge) as an emblem and they became known as "Red Sticks."

Simultaneously British agents flocked into Pensacola with arms and powder for the Indians, and offered a bounty of five dollars for every American scalp.

Enter Andrew Jackson

And in August, 1813 the flames that England had fanned roared into conflagration. On the 30th of that month a band of 1,000 Red Sticks raided Fort Mims, a stockade on the Tensas a mile east of the Alabama river, where 553 American settlers, soldiers and their women and children had taken refuge. All were massacred, and those not destroyed in the burning buildings were scalped, and their scalps brought to Pensacola for parading and pay of the bounty.

The spirit of McGillivray, now dead 20 years, reached down in vain to Fort Mims. One of the chiefs of the Creeks was William Weatherford, son of a half-sister of McGillivray. Weatherford tried desperately to dissuade the Indians from scalping the women and children. Failing, he withdrew from participation in the raid. His descendants, some of whom now live in Escambia county, may well be proud of the nobility in their lineage which Weatherford showed at the risk of "losing face" among his people.

But the British went further than merely inciting Indians to bring Pensacola into active war. A British fleet commanded by Capt. William Henry Percy entered the harbor with a detachment of marines commanded by Lt. Col. Edward Nicholls. Governor Maurique permitted them to occupy Fort San Michael, which they renamed Fort George, as well as Fort San Carlos and the fortifications at the western end of Santa Rosa island. The fleet consisted of two ships-of-the-line each bearing 24 guns, two brigs with 18 guns each, and three tenders. The marines numbered between 200 and 300, but they immediately supplemented their strength by recruiting Indians, whom they drilled in the Plaza Ferdinand VII.

After the Fort Mims Massacre, Gen. Andrew Jackson had come down from Tennessee with an army and had broken the power of the Creek uprising in the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend on March 27, 1814. He had manned Fort Boyer, on Mobile Point, then, and turned his attention toward the British at Pensacola and Apalachicola, whence, he had detected, the Indians had been supplied with British muskets.

Meanwhile, the British launched an attack on Fort Boyer, but the land forces were repulsed and the sea forces so battered that they had to retire back to Pensacola bay. And Jackson still was "on the prowl."

The Tennessean had written Governor Maurice protesting at his harboring the English and unfriendly Creeks and the Spanish reply had been impolite and even threatening. So Jackson, at Fort Montgomery, resolved to march against Pensacola and took the trail in the latter part of October. His force consisted of 3,000 American regulars and militia and some friendly Choctaw Indians. He reached the western edge of the town on November 6, 1814, and sent a messenger under a flag of truce toward Fort George. The messenger, according to Jackson's official report later, was fired upon.

Whereupon Jackson led a scouting reconnaissance and determined that total defenders, Spanish, English and Indians, numbered not more than 5,000, only a portion of whom were in Fort George. He also noted in the harbor seven English war vessels.

After his patrol Jackson placed a detachment of men with several pieces of artillery in old Fort San Bernardo, and, under cover of darkness, moved his main forces to the east of the town which he entered at daylight along Government street. A battery of two guns was encountered there but was soon silenced, and Jackson proceeded west into town, to be met by Governor Maurice under a flag of truce. The governor surrendered the town at discretion but General Jackson refused to accept a surrender, saying that he merely wanted to expel the British. To do this he must enter the forts. The governor agreed, but at Fort George, the Spanish commander demurred, and it was midnight before he finally yielded. This was on November 7; Jackson found that the British had fled to their ships.

Early the next morning he started toward Fort San Carlos to prevent escape of the British vessels; but en route heard a great explosion, which was caused by the British blowing up the Fort prior to embarkation. And so the British escaped, with not only their Indian allies but about 100 Negro slaves of Pensacola residents.

Further Indian Trouble

In expelling the British, Jackson had suffered seven killed and eleven wounded; the Spaniards four killed, six wounded; the British, none.

Jackson and his men went on to New Orleans, where, on January 8, 1815, he fought the Battle of New Orleans against British invaders that climaxed the War of 1812.

Meanwhile, Percy and Nicholls sailed to Apalachicola and landed the Indians and Negroes. Under their direction, a fort was built up the Apalachicola river at Prospect Bluff, about 15 miles from the delta. From this fort the British continued to supply and incite the Indians against the Americans, and the Seminole war that was to wrack Florida a few years later and result in Jack-

son's return had its roots here. "Seminole" was a word of the Muscogee tribe of the Creeks, meaning roughly a "renegade," and referred to those Indians who had abandoned the policies of McGillivray at Bowles' urging and, later, of other native elements.

In March of 1818 Jackson was ordered into East Florida to quell the Indian uprisings and raids. The campaign was short but Jackson became convinced that the Spanish at Pensacola were aiding the Indians and on May 10, 1818, started toward the town, crossing the Apalachicola river at Ochesee. By the 23rd he had crossed the Escambia, and received a note from the Spanish governor, who then was Don Jose Masot, that he must withdraw from the province or be met by force. Ignoring this, Jackson entered the town and Masot retired to Fort San Carlos. Jackson occupied Fort San Michael and, after a brief siege of Fort San Carlos, Masot surrendered that also.

Masot signed articles of capitulation which amounted to cession of West Florida to the United States, and Jackson so advised Secretary of War Calhoun. Without waiting for instructions he established a provisional government, and returned to Nashville.

The Fourth Flag

On February 22, 1819, Spain and the United States signed a treaty by which Florida was ceded to the later, but Spain delayed ratification until February 19, 1821. Meanwhile the United States withdrew its forces from Pensacola upon assurance that Spain could sufficiently garrison the town to keep the peace, and in September, 1819, a Spanish force had arrived. It was headed by Don Jose Maria Callava as governor, a knight of military distinction in Spain's Peninsula War of 1811.

However, following ratification of the treaty, the United States again prepared to take possession and Jackson was appointed Provisional Governor. On April 18, 1821, he left the Hermitage and early in July reached the ranch of Don Manuel Gonzalez, at Fifteen Mile House, now Gonzalez, Fla. Jackson had formed a friendship with the Don on the occasion of his first march into Pensacola, when Gonzalez, by refusing to furnish Jackson a guide to Fort San Carlos in betrayal of his king, had won the general's admiration and esteem.

Now Jackson waited at Gonzalez' home until arrangements for the formal transfer of Florida could be made, but Mrs. Jackson came on into Pensacola. Her letters to friends in Nashville are very revealing about the kind of city she found here. She complained repeatedly of the wickedness, especially of desecration of the Sabbath, on which she said the shops did more business than usual and on which gambling, roistering and drunkenness were rampant.

Period of American Control

1821 — 1952

By July 17, 1821, arrangements were completed and the transfer of flags and sovereignty took place in Plaza Ferdinand VII, before Government house which stood where the present city hall now stands. A battalion of the Fourth U. S. Infantry and a company of the Fourth Artillery marched in from their camp at Galvez Springs to join the Spanish troops in the military formalities.

Again Jackson did not tarry long. He set up a government, with George Walton of Georgia as acting Governor, and divided Florida into two counties, Escambia west of the Suwanee river and St. Johns to the east.

As a result of his two previous visits there had come to Pensacola a group of Nashville business men, including John Donelson, who had invested in real estate here, expecting great things of the port after Florida became a part of the United States. Also there had followed the cession an influx of job-hunters and speculators, to harry the general, whose health had suffered from his various campaigns. Shortly after the transfer, the hot-headed American had an argument with Don

Jose Callava over custody of some trifling papers relating to the estate of Nicholas Maria Vidal, and had thrown Callava in the calaboose for a night. Callava was popular with both the Spanish and the Americans, and Jackson's action did not sit well anywhere. Two of his young officers fought a duel and his favorite got killed. A fire broke out near the square and a crowd collected; Jackson went to the scene and yelled at them to do something about the fire, but not understanding English very well, they all fled precipitantly, leaving the stern General alone at the scene. Misunderstandings multiplied his troubles.

He left it all to Walton and returned home. As to the Spanish, most of them except military personnel remained, and their descendants remain until this day. They were to contribute greatly to the culture, politics and commercial development of the new United States territory and to fuse fully into the hegemony that Pensacola exercised for years in Florida affairs.

Congress passed an act setting up the territorial government of Florida which was approved



PLAZA FERDINAND VII. Here took place the ceremony of the cession of all Florida to the U.S.A. by Spain in 1821. General Andrew Jackson represented the young Republic, and became the first Territorial Governor. The picture was taken about the turn of the century.



In 1824, shortly after the U. S. A. took over the Territory, this lighthouse was built. For over a century and a quarter it has thrown its guiding beacon over the waters of the Gulf.

March 30, 1822, and William P. Duval, of Huguenot descent, was appointed governor. He served longer than any other Florida governor in history, 12 years, and is rated as a able administrator. Walton continued as secretary. Duval reached Pensacola in time for the first meeting of the territorial council, or legislature, scheduled for June 10, 1822, but the council did not convene until late in the summer because the St. Augustine delegates, shipwrecked, were delayed.

The council convened first in the home of John de la Rua near Gull Point, on Escambia bay east of Pensacola. De la Rua was a Pensacola delegate, along with Jose Noriega, who owned a brick-making business.

The town now numbered about 4,000 inhabitants, greatly swelled by the influx of people who came in expectations of a boom. But now the city

which had known war and storms and famine was to know another dread visitation, yellow fever, which appeared in its most virulent form in September. The legislative council fled to the ranch of Don Manuel Gonzalez, and most of the population also fled, afoot and otherwise, and after the plague the population was about 1,400. The next year's legislative council convened in St. Augustine, and it became, for a time, the capital of the territory.

But some of the new citizens remained to add enterprise to the commercial life of the city. In addition to Noriega's bricks, which were the leading export item — 2,000 bales of cotton passed through the port by 1824. There had already been a tanyard, to process the pelts brought in by Pantón's pack trains, and, by waterway transportation the sawmill business began. A newspaper, *The Floridian*, was launched in 1821, and a few years later, another, *The Gazette*, appeared.

Fort Pickens Built

The year 1824 saw two events of importance to Pensacola; it was incorporated as a city by the legislative council, by then meeting in Tallahassee, and Congress passed an act providing for a Navy yard here. The latter was partly due to proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine, by which the United States undertook to protect Central and South American countries from aggression: a naval base was thus needed on the Gulf Coast. It was commissioned about 1830, and Captain Warrington became first commandant. President John Quincy Adams was enthusiastic and planned to build ships here; acorns were planted on Santa Rosa island to provide a perpetual source of oak timbers. But, Andrew Jackson succeeded Adams and, whether he remembered his misfortunes and the disappointment of his friends at Pensacola or not, the Navy



Home of Dorothy Walton, wife of the signer of the Declaration of Independence. It stands on Intendencia Street, west of Palafox. Dorothy Walton is buried in St. Michael's Cemetery.

Yard was neglected. It was not until 1850 that its first floating drydock was launched. But it had become established as an important adjunct to the city.

To protect the yard and the port, the Army detailed Capt. William H. Chase of the Engineers to build two forts, one on Santa Rosa island and the other across the pass, on Foster's Island. The first was named Fort Pickens, after Gen. Andrew Pickens whose first contact with Pensacola had come, in treaty negotiations, through McGillivray years before. The other was Fort McRae.

In the census of 1830, Escambia county's population was 2,518, just slightly behind Duval county, which however was much larger in area. Virtually all of this population lived in, or near Pensacola.

The city began to grow again with Captain Chase's construction work, and again to dream of a great port. New Orleans, Mobile, and even Apalachicola, with inferior harbors, were far ahead of Pensacola as ports, because of the rivers which brought goods down to the sea. The small amount of cotton business obtained by bay and coastal and small river boats and wagons had given Pensacola an appetite for more, and an inland canal to the

east and west began to be talked. Such a canal was to be realized almost exactly 100 years later! Not only was Pensacola isolated commercially, but even mail was slow in arriving.

So by 1834 plans for a railroad had been formulated. Also in this year Capt. Isaac Hulse had arrived to command the Naval hospital near the Navy yard. To finance the railroad, which was to run to Columbus, Ga., a bank was formed and it in turn loaned money on railroad stock. The Columbus route was abandoned in favor of a more northerly route, but it had caused a boom that led to considerable development around what is now 12th avenue and Gadsden street, where its terminal was to have been. Grades were cut to the north and some track installed, and by 1836 a sawmill had been erected at Durrant's Bluff on Escambia river, at a site now known as Molino. Exports increased and Pensacola began to enjoy some summer tourist business, according to newspaper accounts of the date.

But in 1837 there was a national "depression," and it affected Pensacola. The railroad evidently got as far as the Alabama line where Flomaton now is, but the market for cotton and timber declined and Pensacolans turned their attention to-



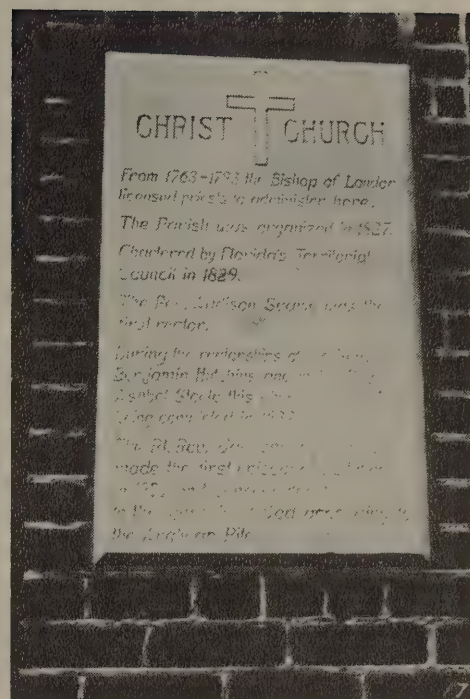
LIVE OAK RESERVATION. When the Navy Yard was located in Pensacola the Government, in 1827, set aside for its use a large tract of live oaks on Santa Rosa Peninsula. Timber for ship building was drawn from this plantation for over fifty years. As late as 1929 oak timbers were cut from this tract for the reconditioning of the U.S.S. Constitution. It is now used by the Boy Scouts of the Gulf Coast Council for their permanent camp.



FORT BARRANCAS. Built by U.S. Government in 1830-40, and later backed by FORT REDOUBT. In the foreground can be seen old FORT SAN CARLOS.



Old Christ Church on Seville Square, built in 1832, now the City Library. It is generally believed that the plans for this church were drawn from a Christopher Wren design.



ward approaching statehood and the question that already was splitting the nation — slavery.

Florida became a state in 1845 and there was only nominal growth at Pensacola. At the Navy Yard, after the dry dock was installed in 1850, the first U. S. S. Pensacola was built, but the advent of the civil war found it secondary in importance to Fort Pickens across the bay.

The Fifth Flag

Florida seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861, and on that date, Lieut. Adam J. Slemmer, acting in command of Federal army forces here, moved his 80 men to Fort Pickens, after destroying 20,000 pounds of powder at Fort McRae and spiking the guns at Fort Barrancas, which was indefensible from the rear. Confederate forces were assembling in Pensacola with William H. Chase, who had built the forts, as a Confederate major-general in command. On January 11 Confederate forces obtained the surrender of the Navy Yard without opposition.

The shooting war had not yet started and Chase was reluctant to start it by an assault on Pickens. Had he done so, the course of the war might have been different, for lack of naval forces to resist the choking, starving federal blockade was one of the decisive factors against the confederacy, and naval forces might have been built at Pensacola.

But a period of watching and waiting prevailed until September, and then the Federals at Fort Pickens, by now reinforced to about 2,000 men, started hostilities by raiding and burning the dry dock. A few nights later they boarded a Confederate vessel at the yard and burned it also, losing three dead in the raid.

The Confederates retaliated by landing about 1,000 troops on Santa Rosa island on the night of October 8, but they were ineffectual against Fort



U. S. STEAMER PENSACOLA
Built at the Navy Yard in 1859



PENSACOLA NAVY YARD. The site was selected in 1825 but construction was not completed until 1836-40. The old wall can still be seen at the Naval Air Station, and many of the old buildings and officers quarters are still in use. In the background can be seen the "Governor's Pond" where oak timbers from the Live Oak Reservation were stored.

Pickens and withdrew before daylight. In November the Federals started a heavy bombardment of Forts McRae and Barrancas and the Navy Yard. McRae was reduced under the 201 guns of Pickens and shelling from two federal men-of-war, the Navy Yard was damaged, and the hospital set afire and burned. The Confederate artillery had proved of no avail against the well protected guns of Fort Pickens. It is interesting to note that the Confederate commander at Fort McRae had been Col. Theodore O'Hara, author of the famous poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead."

By February of 1862 increasing Federal military pressure to the North had determined the Confederates to abandon Florida. Gen. Braxton Bragg, who had succeeded Chase in over-all command here, detailed Gen. Samuel Jones, left in charge at Pensacola, to seize all movable stores and destroy whatever might be of use to the enemy. Col. T. M. Jones was in turn assigned to execute the order. He did it effectively; flames were started from McRae, on through the Navy Yard, the villages of Warrington and Woolsey, and even into Pensacola. Sawmills were wrecked and even the rails were moved from the railroad running north to Flomaton, and Pensacola was abandoned to the Federals.

They came in the next day, and Mayor John Brosnahan had no choice but to turn the admin-

istration over to them. General Arnold, in command of U.S. forces, took up residence in General Chase's house, at Palafox and Wright streets, that later was to be the Continental and then the Es-cambia Hotel. Col. Billy Wilson of the New York Zouaves, who had been put to rout on Santa Rosa island when the Confederates had raided it a few



South Palafox Street prior to the Civil War. The shore line is much farther out today owing to the great quantity of rock ballast dumped in the bay by vessels coming in for loads of lumber during the period when Pensacola was the timber port of the South.



FAMOUS FORT PICKENS, on the western tip of Santa Rosa Island, was built in 1834. The only southern fort to remain in Federal hands during the Civil War, it continued in commission until after World War II, when it was turned over to the State of Florida, for use as a park and historic monument. Below is a contemporary drawing of the reinforcement of Fort Pickens by Federal Forces, April 1861.





Battle of Santa Rosa Island, October 9, 1861. The attack by Confederate forces under General Anderson on Colonel Wilson's camp.



Battle of Santa Rosa Island. After being routed from their camp, the Federal forces rallied and drove the Confederates to their boats. This sketch and the one on the preceding page were made by Charles Allgouer of the Sixth New York Volunteers.

months before, made his home in Mallory's house, on the east side of Palafox between Gregory and Wright streets.

Peace to Pensacola

For Pensacola, the war was over, except for the privation its remaining citizens would know under the federal blockade and the isolation created by destruction of the railroad to the north. Confederate observation posts remained nearby, and skirmishes occurred with Federal raiders at Bluff Springs and near Milton, but there was no further fighting here.

It was the last time that the shooting phases of war were to be known in Pensacola, and one of the few times that Pensacola did not grow and profit from war.

The Reconstruction Period that followed was of the general pattern here as elsewhere. By 1877



Railroad building through the pine forest.

the railroad had been rebuilt to Flomaton and purchased by the Louisville & Nashville, and William D. Chipley was made general manager for the L. & N., with headquarters here. He obtained a charter for a railroad eastward to Chattahoochee, backed by land grants totaling 2,214,024 acres. By 1883 the line was completed.

By this time also some approximation of political normalcy had been restored. From the North had come men experienced in saw-milling, and the vast tracts of pine opened up by the railroads stimulated a business which for many years made Pensacola the lumber capital of the world. It left vast areas barren, for reforestation was not then practiced. It made many people fortunes, but this wealth was not used as "venture capital" to promote other enterprises, except in a few instances, until after the turn of the present century, when the last of the virgin timber was gone.



Pensacola Harbor in the late 1880's.

The harbor continued to inspire dreams of a great port here among many, and in 1892 Henry McLaughlin attempted to establish a railroad to the west to bring in exportable goods. But lack of local support and other causes doomed his project. Roy C. McGargel, a banker-promoter of New York, later built another line, which connected with the Southern Railroad at Kimbrough, Ala., but he also was to know heartbreak and failure. His road, known successively as the Gulf, Florida & Alabama and the Muscle Shoals, Birmingham & Pensacola, was eventually to be acquired by the present operators, the Frisco System, making Pensacola a port



MALLORY HOME — Residence of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy and of two United States Senators. Stephen Russell Mallory I entered Florida at Key West in 1820; in 1838 married Angela, daughter of Don Francis Moreno of Pensacola; became U. S. Senator in 1851 and Confederate Naval Secretary in 1861. S. R. Mallory II was born in Pensacola in 1848, went to the State Legislature in 1876, to Congress in 1890 and became U. S. Senator in 1897. Both lived in this residence, which stood on the eastern side of Palafox street, just below Wright street. The photograph was loaned by Mrs. William Fisher, Sr., daughter of S. R. Mallory, II.

BIRDSEYE DRAWING
OF PENSACOLA, 1885



Custom House and Post Office about 1880.
Now the Escambia County Court House.



Old Escambia County Court House which
stood on the site of the present Post Office.

terminus for two great railroad systems but by no means making it a great port.

There was, of course, always some other business or commerce to supplement the lumber trade. As early as 1872 commercial shipments of fish began and in the 1880's the Warren Fish Company and E. A. Saunders began sending Pensacola red snapper and other seafood to an ever widening market. Naval stores became a considerable business by 1900. The Navy Yard here continued to provide some employment, but for years it was to be closed down, until the advent of naval aviation.

This came in 1913, when the yard was reopened as a naval air station. Its training activities, especially in World War I and World War II, resulted in great expansions in Pensacola.

By 1902 there had been found some use for the stumps left by the lumber cutters, and a plant was established at Gull Point to extract tar and other pine products from them. In 1916, the Newport Company was established here, for the same purpose, and Pensacola has become headquarters for this nationally-known corporation. As a result of the Newport business, Armstrong Cork Company became established to use the wood fiber left after Newport extracted the resins, in manufacturing fiber-boards. Another outgrowth of the Newport plant was a plant of U. S. Industrial Chemicals, Inc., to refine and convert Newport products.

A Symbol of Stability

But if the harbor was to know only transitory glory, the pine, it seems, was to be perpetual. The lumber gone, the stumps still gave sustenance to Pensacola. And by 1941 the pine was to give the city a new birth of prosperity, for in that year production was begun by Florida Pulp & Paper Co., at

Cantonment, Fla., near where Jackson's troops had camped while the general was at Don Manuel's home a few miles south. The company built a big mill to convert pines to paper and pulp, and instituted immediately a program of reforestation designed to assure ever-replenishing crops for the mills. Eventually the mill facilities were consolidated into the vast St. Regis Paper Co., and became one of many integrated mills of that system.

At this writing new industrial development, including a big plant to manufacture textile fabric by the Chemstrand Corporation, seems imminent, and it may be that in time such expansion will lead the port back to activity.

Meanwhile development of the coastal area here as a summer resort seems certain to lead to eventual economic prosperity. It began with the advent of the automobile, which led to a road paving program in 1921 and bridges across Pensacola bay and



Group of Pensacola buildings
from an old 1885 Booklet

Santa Rosa sound in 1932. In 1937 a municipal advertising authority was created to promote the city's resort and industrial attractions but while it got off to a good start, its work was limited in a few years by diversion of funds to other purposes. In 1945, however, the Santa Rosa Island Authority was created by the Legislature, for actual development of a part of Santa Rosa island as a resort. Many cottages already have been built there and many thousands of visitors each year come to enjoy the surf and the sand and the sun. To promote

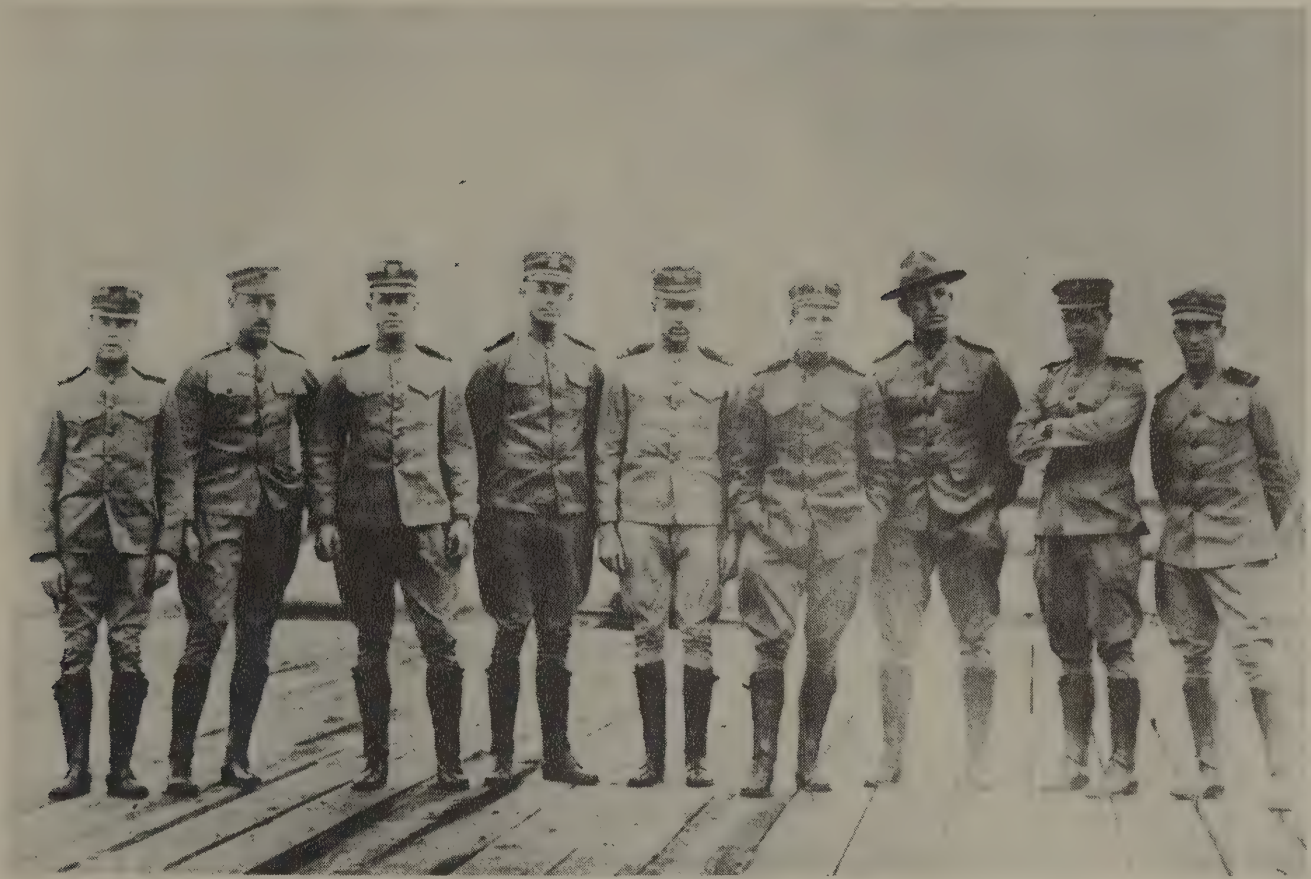
Pensacola's advantages as a summer resort, the publishers of this booklet organized themselves two years ago, and their success increases each year.

And it may well be that the city where five flags have waved, and which has known the havoc of man and nature, and famine and plague and the plenitude it now enjoys, will find its real and great future as a place to which its neighbors from all America may come to enjoy the cool summer Gulf breezes, and for recreation, and for health.



STEPHEN R. MALLORY MONUMENT
In Lee Square at top of Palafox Hill.

Naval Air Station Established



COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE NEWLY-FORMED AVIATION CORPS, USN.
This rare photograph was taken in 1914 at the Naval Air Station and shows, left to right: Lieut. V. D. Herbster, Lieut. W. M. McIlvain, Lieut. P. N. L. Bellinger, Lieut. R. C. Saufley, Lieut. J. H. Towers, Lieut.-Comdr. H. C. Mustin, Lieut. B. L. Smith, Ensign de Chevalier, Ensign M. L. Stolz.

JUST before World War I the Secretary of the Navy appointed a board to examine possible sites for the first Naval Air Station. The board unanimously chose Pensacola. The initial flight was made from Pensacola in 1914 when the Naval Aviators were dispatched to scout for the fleet at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

There were hardly enough planes for the very few eager young aviators who fought the elements from open cockpits and struggled in tent hangars with bailing wire to keep their aircraft flying. Such was the picture of Pensacola's Naval Aviation at the beginning of the first World War.

The training base grew until during the last war, 28,582 Naval Aviators were forged at, "The Annapolis of the Air".



Training Plane of First World War



Above: TENT HANGARS on Santa Rosa Island, 1918. Early equipment of the embryo Naval Aviation Corps was primitive, but led to the splendid facilities of today's Naval Air Station.

Below: AERIAL VIEW OF N.A.S. in 1919. Buildings are camouflaged. In center can be seen the old walled area of the Navy Yard. The old town of Woolsey and portions of Warrington that once clustered around these walls have been cleared away to make room for shops, barracks, landing fields.





NAVAL AIR STATION, 1952, ANNAPOLIS OF THE AIR—With its auxiliary installations at Corry Field, Saufley Field, Whiting Field, Barin Field and Ellyson Field, and outlying landing fields, the Pensacola Naval Air Station is our largest Naval Aviation establishment. The “flat top” in the foreground is the U.S.S. Cabot. A portion of the old walled enclosure is seen at right center, with the Commandant’s Quarters clearly visible—a fine old house built over a hundred years ago when the Navy Yard was established. A small portion of Chevalier Field is in upper right. Here are command headquarters for NAVAL AIR TRAINING and NAVAL AIR BASIC TRAINING. Civilian employees in the shops and administrative offices exceed 5,000. Military personnel, officers, cadets, enlisted men exceed 10,000. Outside the picture, in upper left, is the site for the new Forrest Sherman jet landing field, now under construction.



Commercial Fishing

— A LEADING PENSACOLA INDUSTRY

Above is the Baylen Street dock, warehouse and sail loft of the Warren Fish Co. At left is a portion of the deep sea fleet of E. E. Saunders & Co. Pensacola's fishing fleet ranges hundreds of miles into the Gulf and brings in for a broad domestic market the famous Pensacola red snapper, mackerel, pompano, blue fish, speckled trout, grouper, etc. The shrimping fleet furnishes this popular delicacy to all parts of the country.





Deep Sea Sport Fishing

Charter boats, with a capacity of from 45 to 75, go out daily to the fine fishing banks of the Gulf. A short catalogue of a typical "catch" would include red snapper, grouper, warsaw, scamp. In the Bay, and just offshore, the sport fisherman will find trout, mackerel, tarpon, bonita, red fish, ling, dolphin, blue fish, amberjack. Looking over old prints and accounts of fifty to a hundred years ago we find the same picture of good fishing in these favored waters. A recent report by the Bureau of Fisheries states that the fish population of the Gulf continues prolific and seems to be inexhaustible.





Santa Rosa Island Beach

White sands, stretching for miles in either direction and framed by inland dunes and the blue waters of the Gulf, offer a playground unmatched along American shores. The control and development of this unique stretch of waterfront is in the capable hands of the Santa Rosa Island Authority. The Casino with its facilities for bathers, the housing arrangements for public motels and private homes, the newly-projected transportation facilities to old Fort Pickens, are characteristic of the forward looking policies that will preserve for all time this happy hunting ground of the vacationer and the casual visitor. The old print to the left shows that our forefathers of the "gay nineties" were not unaware of the joys of beach bathing, despite the Victorian and smothering garments.



Surf Bathing on the Gulf Side of Santa Rosa Beach.

(From Pensacola Journal 1906)

PHOTO BY COTTRELL



The New Look . . .

AND THE CHANGELESS GULF.

These contrasting pictures, taken a half century apart, may bring a fond, nostalgic smile to our elders and, in years ahead, a broad grin from our grandchildren. But the clean, white sands are the same that saw the footprints of the first Spaniards that came ashore four centuries ago, and the pounding surf knows no change in so short a span of years. The recorded history of Pensacola started with the first glimpse of this low-lying strip of white shore in 1528. Treasure is said to be buried here; forts were built and abandoned; a town was planted here only to be swept away; battles were fought along these sands. Storms and tidal waves have beaten against this shore, but today it remains still the loveliest expanse of sandy beach, heaped up dunes, and restless surf in four thousand miles of southern coastline.





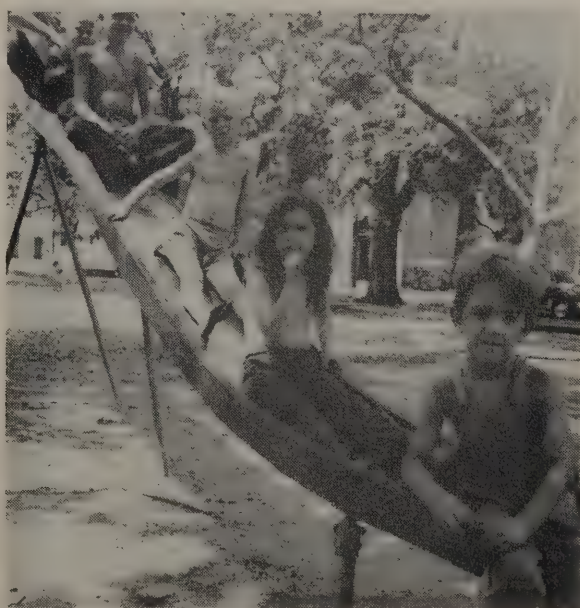
To the fisherman who takes his fun seriously, or casually, the water around Pensacola, its bays and bayous and feeding streams, will never disappoint him.



fun...

for the small fry!

This picture of the Bayliss Wayside Park pier and swimming area at the approach to the Bay Bridge could be duplicated at a half dozen points from Warrington to the children's beach on Santa Rosa Sound. The modern city of Greater Pensacola is a good place for children to grow up — to play together, to prepare for the day when the town is theirs.





NEWPORT INDUSTRIES. The Newport Turpentine & Rosin Co., as it was known when it started in 1916, was one of Pensacola's earliest manufacturing enterprises. The picture above shows the plant in its early days. Known today as Newport Industries, Inc., it produces almost a hundred different chemicals from the three basic products, turpentine, rosin, and pine oil. Its raw material is old pine stumps from the barren, cut over lands along the Gulf coast. One might call this the Cinderella industry of the pinelands, turning waste material of the virgin forests into a useful and profitable product. The neighboring plant of U. S. Industrial Chemical Co., draws its raw material from Newport, and Newport's waste product, called "spentwood" is the basic raw material of another neighboring plant, the Armstrong Cork Co. Newport may fairly be called the initiator of Pensacola's fast growing chemical and affiliated industries.

A view of the modern Newport Plant showing Armstrong Cork Company in background.



ARMSTRONG CORK COMPANY. In the long building in the foreground, built in 1930, Armstrong manufactures fibreboard, using as its basic raw material "spentwood" from Newport Industries, whose plant is shown just beyond the Armstrong buildings. In this plant Armstrong turns out roof insulation, equipment insulation for refrigerators, sheathing for home construction, and wall board blanks for other manufacturers to process. Today, as the result of research, Armstrong utilizes green pine pulp, mixed with spentwood, to produce a higher grade material for fabrication into its several products.

Basic source of much of Pensacola's industrial development is the pine forest. In contrast to the shortsighted practice of the last century, when most of the virgin timber was cut clean with little care for reforestation, the timberlands of today are cared for by all the arts of modern forestry. Our forests are a self renewing natural resource only if trees are harvested in such a manner as to ensure a sustained and perpetual growth.





MAHOGANY LOGS FOR WEIS-FRICKER. This Pensacola Harbor scene shows a shipment of mahogany logs being unloaded and rafted for transfer to the Weis-Fricker Mahogany Company's plant on Bayou Chico. Pensacola is the nearest receiving port for logs imported from Honduras and other Central American mahogany producing areas, and has the distinction of being the headquarters of one of America's largest importers and processors of this rare wood.



The Weis-Fricker mill first went into operation in 1921 to manufacture cypress logs. In 1934 the mill concentrated on mahogany lumber, its milling, seasoning and sorting, calls for skilled craftsmanship and a rare knowledge of grade, texture and grain. Furniture and veneer manufacturers, and wholesale yards, both domestic and foreign, look to this Pensacola source for much of their high grade material.



ST. REGIS PAPER COMPANY. Pensacola is the home of the great St. Regis' Kraft Center, where Kraft paper and multiwall paper bags are manufactured in one of the largest integrated operations of the industry. From the seed to the finished product, this modern enterprise in forestry and manufacturing never ceases its straight-line production year in and year out.



PENSACOLA YACHT CLUB. After nearly forty years in various quarters, the P. Y. C., acquired this gracious old residence on the shore of the Bayou Chico inlet for its clubhouse. Here, in 1950, was held the 31st Lipton Cup Regatta of the Gulf Yatching Association; and here will be staged the first Fiesta Regatta, initiated as a feature of the 1952 Five Flags Fiesta.





PENSACOLA COUNTRY CLUB. The re-designed clubhouse, looking out over Pensacola Bay, and the 18-hole golf course laid out through the pine woods, make the Pensacola Country Club a favorite rendezvous in the social life of Pensacola.





CHRIST CHURCH. Standing at the corner of Wright and Palafox, Christ Church is characteristic of the fine church buildings that serve the religious life of Pensacola. The building was erected in 1912, when the congregation moved from the old church on Seville Square.



Consecration of the church January 14, 1917, by the Rt. Rev. Edwin Gardner Weed, D. D., Third Bishop of Florida.



BAPTIST HOSPITAL. This modern hospital was completed and dedicated in 1951. Citizens of all denominations joined in raising the funds for this needed expansion of Pensacola's medical facilities. Within recent years the Maternity Hospital and Escambia General have come into operation, these three new institutions supplementing the fine service carried alone for many years by Sacred Heart Hospital. The expansion and improvement of Sacred Heart, Pensacola's oldest hospital and the only Nurses Training Center in West Florida, is now under way, supported again by all citizens of good will.

Lying just back of the Baptist Hospital is the Crippled Children's Home, supported by public subscription, and serving the needs of the whole community. Its modern building, fully equipped to care for our crippled children, was opened early in 1951.





Pensacola's Y. M. C. A.

BIRTH of common effort for a better community occurred in Pensacola shortly after the turn of the present century, when a group of citizens organized the first Young Men's Christian Association in Florida and began plans for the building shown above, which was completed in December, 1905, date of picture.

William Fisher, the elder, started a community campaign with a contribution of \$5,000 and a total of \$25,000 was raised. The finance committee consisted of H. K. Hyer, J. R. Saunders, W. B. Ferriss, Dr. J. H. Pierpont, Walker Ingraham, H. L.

Covington, W. S. Garfield and A. M. McMillan. Contributors included people of all walks of life and all religious faiths — Protestant, Catholic and Jewish.

In the years when the building was new, it served as a forerunner of our modern USO facilities. The U. S. Atlantic Fleet then staged target practice out of Pensacola bay, and personnel were entertained at the Y. M. C. A.

J. H. Sherrill, who later founded the Sherrill Oil Company, served as first general secretary, with T. M. Brainard as boys' secretary and Warren McGhee as physical director.

Special religious services for men were conducted on Sunday afternoons and for boys on special occasions. Bible Teachers' Training classes were instituted. In its gymnasium was begun the organized athletics which culminated in today's all-inclusive City Recreation Department. Here too, under Y.M.C.A. inspiration and leadership, was organized the first Parent-Teacher association in Florida, and the first Boy Scout troop in the state. Also, the first recorded organized charity using the case system.

Today's splendid, larger Y.M.C.A. building is a symbol of its ever-increasing service to our growing community.



Fiesta of The Five Flags Association, Incorporated



A non-profit organization of Florida citizens devoted to the commemoration of Pensacola's unique and turbulent history over four centuries, and the annual celebration of the landing of Tristan DeLuna and his colonists in 1559.

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TRISTAN DE LUNA LANDS AGAIN. Pensacola Fiesta of The Five Flags has become one of the leading summer attractions of the south coast. Its chief feature is the landing of Tristan de Luna and his men, recalling the first landing in 1559.



Pensacola is a city of parades and pageantry. Here is a picture of the Naval Air Station Cadet Corps passing the San Carlos, one of the South's finest hotels.

Acknowledgment

EXISTING historical works are of course the primary sources of the material herein presented, except photographs, for as indicated in the foreword, little original research was possible. These have included *Memoirs of Florida*, Vol. 1, by Rowland H. Rerick and Francis P. Fleming, published in 1902; *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida*, by Richard L. Campbell, 1892, loaned from the library of Mr. J. H. Sherrill; *History of Escambia County*, by H. Clay Armstrong, 1930; *Historical Reproductions From the Collection of T. T. Wentworth, Jr.*, by T. T. Wentworth, Jr.

Mr. Wentworth has contributed greatly to this booklet, as he has to every authentic historical treatise dealing with Pensacola. His collection of material, assembled at great expense to him, was graciously made available, and his public spirit is highly commendable. Most of the old pictures herein are from his collection.

The histories above mentioned, in their turn, derive originally from chroniclers of early Spanish explorations, and other sources. To the students who wish a fuller account of early times in Pensacola, two new important works, including much information which could not be used here, are highly recommended. The University of Florida Press has published a new translation by Anthony Kerrigan of *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, a beautiful work which will grace any library; and the University of Texas Press at Austin has brought out a full translation of *The Florida of the Inca*, by Garcilaso de la Vega, an account of DeSoto's expedition.

Aside from the research and writing of the text, the major burden of work connected with this booklet has been assumed by Mr. Justin R. Weddell, and the author wishes not only to thank him but to point out the commendation he deserves. Mr. Weddell planned the format, selected and captioned the pictures, and arranged and supervised all publication details. Without his aid, the result could not have been achieved on schedule.

The printing may or may not speak for itself. Since it is not complete as this is written, we can not assay it. But it should be stated that all personnel of both the Pfeiffer Printing Company and the Pensacola Engraving Company, who collaborated, made it a labor of sincere devotion and, in judging the booklet, it should be borne in mind that they had a very limited time after final delivery of text and other material. To Mr. H. J. Guidry of Pfeiffer's plant, who personally supervised actual production, and to Henry F. Materna, whose fine engraving made usable some photographs which were dim and faded, we extend real thanks.

We think the cover is exceptionally good. Conceived by Mr. Weddell, it was designed and executed by Mr. L. D. McGirr, also in a limited time, and he deserves much credit. The title lettering is the work of J. R. Wilson.

We are indebted to Lt. Paul M. Clyde, USN, for the rare photograph of the pioneers of naval aviation used herein. The names of those men are memorialized at various sites of the modern Naval Air Station here, and are indelibly inscribed in general naval annals.

Fine photographic contributions were made by the Public Information Office of the Naval Air Training Command; Mrs. W. R. Johnson, Mr. Lew Ashley, Mrs. Wilmer S. Hall, Mr. J. E. Watson, Mr. J. R. Norris, Mr. John Appleyard, Mr. Frank E. Fricker, Mr. J. H. McCormick and Mr. Paul Damond.

The work would not have been possible in the first place without the sponsorship of the Fiesta of The Five Flags Association, Inc., now in its third year of existence. This Association, whose aim is to herald afar the attractions of Pensacola for tourists and vacationers, has rightly seen that historical background is one of the major of those attractions, which include also our beaches and the cooling Gulf breeze. The Association's work so far has been very effective: results are clearly visible.

It is humbly hoped that this booklet may be considered as a part of that good work.

THE AUTHOR.







6/22/2018

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